TAMIL NATION

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Dear Mr. President Dingiri Banda Wijetunga,

QUIT TAMIL TURF: THERE'S NO OTHER WAY OUT NOW !

If what happened on that Thursday the eleventh of November cannot shock the Sinhala nation and the Colombo Establishment into an awakening into reality, nothing else can. Pooneryn was a military debacle, a debacle that surpassed all previous debacles - Kokkavil, Mankulam, Jaffna Fort, Janakapura, Veththilaikerni, Koddaikadu, Kilali ..... And then on November the eleventh, army and naval bases at Pooneryn, Sangupiddy and Nagatheevanthurai fell like nine pins before a multi-pronged LTTE onslaught over a 15 kilometre sandy stretch. Such was the pulverising nature of the pre-dawn attack that the LTTE walked away with the entire government armoury! The loss to the government included a tracked armoured tank, six 120 millimetre artillery tanks, five water-jet patrol crafts, and six 120 millimetre artillery guns with an effective range of seven kilometres. The Liberation Tigers are now aiming the same artillery guns at their previous possessors!

"The military is very concerned about the heavy guns", a senior Army officer told AFP news agency, "because with those artillery pieces they can attack any camp or airbase in the North." The Colombo newspaper SUNDAY TIMES (a newspaper better informed than the rest and endowed with some sense) commented editorially:- 'The LTTE does not need foreign arms suppliers, because it seems to be getting everything gratis from our armours. Sad. Very sad.

The government losses in terms of human lives at that single battle in Pooneryn alone

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PRESS RELEASE

LTTE STATEMENT CONFIRMS DEATH OF 1000 SRI LANKAN SOLDIERS AND SAILORS AT POONERYN

LTTE statement issued today (19-11-1993) placed the Sri Lankan soldiers and sailors killed in the raid on Pooneryn military and naval complex at about 1000. Bodies of about 400 soldiers and 200 sailors were still missing. The captured armaments included 2 Tanks, 5 Water Jet Boats, one 106mm recoilless gun, Machine Guns 61, 50 calibre guns 15, Mortars 44, RPGs 35, Pistols 10, two Buffel armoured vehicles were destroyed. The LTTE lost about 400 men.

Political Committee
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

Tamils: A Nation without a state

TAMIL NATION

"Truth and knowledge are an idle gleam if they do not bring power to change the world."
Sri Aurobindo

Recognising that to change anything, it is necessary to understand that which we seek to change, the TAMIL NATION is concerned not omly with providing information, but also with furthering an understanding of the issues that confront the Tamil national movement. Recognising that, in the end, we truly understand anything only to the extent that we have not been able to change it, the TAMIL NATION is concerned with only changing those material conditions of existence which continue to oppress and discriminate against the people of Tamil Eelam. The TAMIL NATION is rooted in the growing togertheness of the Tamil people and it seeks to participate in the effort to strengthen that togetherness. The TAMIL NATION seeks to focus attention on the unjust relationship between nations without a state and nations that have achieved statehood. And, the TAMIL NATION exists to debate and campaign for the radical changes necessary, both amongst the Tamil people and outside, if the struggle of the Tamil people for national self determination is to be won.

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The views expressed in this paper are not necessarily those of the publishers. TAMIL NATION welcomes reader responses in the form of letters or articles. Contributions should preferably be brief and typed on one side of the paper only.

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TAMIL NATION

QUIT TAMIL TURF !

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indicate a figure of about a thousand. Grudging government estimates after a 10 day interval placed the figure at 673 soldiers and sailors. The Tigers have admitted a loss of 411 of their cadres. A terrible toll, reminiscent of some World War II battles! How about the wounded who lay trapped on the battle zone when helicopters and boats could not land or rescue, until the Tigers withdrew from the scene? It was the biggest loss of manpower and military hardware and the most shameful loss of face for the Sri Lanka government in ten years of fighting.

The cost of these military operations (with fancy names) during the latter half of this year alone would have amounted to Rs. five hundred million, or possibly more, which will never be revealed, neither to the Sinhalese people, nor to the donor countries, which for reasons unknown keep pumping "development aid ' to a government that is suffering from a sense of drift, both militarily and politically,

The human lives that the government keeps sending as gun-fodder to the northern battlefields are mostly poor, unemployed, Sinhala rural youths, enamoured by the high salaries and perks, who have neither the wish to die, nor have the motivation to fight. TAMIL NATION, like all Eelam Tamils, is only too aware that the Sinhala Establishment in Colombo has long lost its sensitivity to Tamil suffering. But how about some concern for the suffering of its own people? Cannot the myriad Generals and ex-Generals still haunting the corridors of power in Colombo see the writing on the wall? How about Sinhala public opinion, one might well ask? The tragedy appears to be that Sinhala public opinion is being expressed only in private! The Sinhalese people have become so anaesthetised to killings in their own backyards, with corpses floating down the Kelani and Mahaweli rivers, that they merely shrug their shoulders when they see fleets of ambulances screaming their way carrying the dying and the wounded from the northern battlefronts. There was a time when they used to count the ambulances down Galle Road. Now they don't even do that, we are told!

When America long holed up in Vietnam, decided at last to clear out, there were four compulsions: she was losing the war on the ground; the war was hurting her economy; she was losing the war at home; and in her own media. In Sri Lanka, the first two reasons are compelling enough. Even if the Wijetunga government is beginning to lose the war at home, it is not being reflected, because the Colombo media is choking Sinhala opinion. With the Government controlled Beira Lake Press beating the tribal drum on the one hand, and the independent ones looking nervously over their shoulders, the Press has set itself up as the only vehicle of public opinion.

In an island once celebrated as Paradise, and which became a killing field as early as 1958 with the anti-Tamil riots of that year and punctuated by the slaughter of 20,000 Sinhalese youths in the wake of the JVP insurgency of 1971, when the Sinhala government of Mrs Srimavo Bandaranaike decimated its own Sinhala youth - it had been a history of cyclic blood-letting in which two and a half million Tamils have been facing the wrath of marauding mobs first, and state terrorism later. Like a 20th century Rip Van Winkle, septuagenarian President, Dingri Banda Wijetunga suddenly woke up from his accidental Presidential throne and made the sublime declaration that there was no ethnic problem at all. It was a simple case of "terrorism" he said. And that resulted in the "Operation Yal Devi" fiasco and the Pooneryn nightmare.

Mr President, you have a globe in your Presidential chamber. Please swirl it around, and take a look at the world. The one-time Israeli "terrorists" and today's His Excellencies in that part of the world have come to understand the other pistol wearing "terrorist" Yasser Arafat and his PLO and vice versa. Even Col. Gaddafi now thinks that President Clinton is "like a brightening star in the Western hemisphere which is full of darkness"! He tends to be a "peace loving person" he says. South Africa's white President is seen shaking hands with black ANC leader Nelson Mandela. After two decades of fighting the Muslim separatists in the island of Mindanao the Philippine government has now sat down for formal talks with the rebels in neighbouring Indonesia. You might have of course heard of Eritrea even if your globe might not show it. Think of the ex-Soviet union, ex-Yugoslavia (where your Anura's mother used to go for medical treatment), ex-Czechoslovakia, - and even the ex-Malaysia which at one time included today's prosperous tiny city state of Singapore. So people change, wisdom dawns even in one's seventies, boundaries change, and history gallops.

So Mr President, enough is enough. It is clear to all unbiased observers, that Head of State you might be, but you and your Generals are not masters of events. You are only helpless witnesses to an irreversible historical process. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam are the ones setting the agenda for an eventual political solution; and you know what that implies. A leader has to shape events. Merely reacting to events, with spite and anger, won't do: bombing civilian targets in the North; rounding up Tamils in Colombo, for no other reason than they happen to be Tamils. You are denying a peaceful life and a peaceful future not only to the Tamils, but to your own people as well. Forget war. Keep your Generals in the barracks. Think of Peace. Just as war starts in the minds of men, Mr President, so does Peace. But that Peace has to come with Honour. And Honour dictates that having failed to crush the Tamil spirit, you quit the Tamil soil, and quit it gracefully. May the Enlightened One before whom you bend deep, give you that wisdom!

VIEWPOINT

"THONDAMAN CAN BE YOUR BEST ALLY FOR PEACE MISTER PRESIDENT" says Canadian Lawyer

Minister Mr S Thondaman

Prime Minister Wijetunga

Dear Sir

I am a Canadian Lawyer who represents many members of the Tamil community living in Canada. I have been following the distinguished career of Mr S Thondaman, who is presently the Minister of Rural Industrial Development and Tourism. Mr Thondaman is a tremendous asset to your government. For over a half century he has given of himself to public service and, in particular, to the advancement of the interests of the Tamil community. Mr Thondaman has served under the government of Jayawardene, Premadasa and now your own. As a sitting Tamil member of parliament, he is in a singular position to advance the peace process between your government and the LTTE.

Mr Thondaman can be your ally for peace, but only if your government is prepared to take the initiative. In Canada members of our own parliament are calling for the immediate end to bombing of Tamil areas in northern and eastern Sri Lanka along with an immediate end to the mass arrests recently being carried out against innocent Tamils in Colombo. Freedom of the press must be guaranteed in Colombo with no pressure applied upon newspaper editors to tow the government line.

The war against the Tamils in the north and east is having a disastrous affect throughout the whole island. Tourism is in decline as a result of the ever present threat of violence and the inability of visitors to move freely about. Money which should be used for development purposes and to improve the standard of living is instead being diverted toward the war effort. The military option will only lead to financial chaos and bring your own government into disrepute.

On the other hand Mr Wijetunga you have the opportunity to take the high road, to take the path of nation building that befits a great statesman. You are highly respected by the people of Sri Lanka and considered one of the senior politicians on the island. You have been the third president under new constitution and have the confidence of your people. The unfinished legacy of your predecessors has now fallen into your hands and together with your able cabinet ministers including Mr Thondaman you must seize the moment to achieve peace in Sri Lanka.

The LTTE represents the soul and the strength of the Tamil people and Mr Prabakaran is its esteemed leader. He is known all over the world and has gained the loyalty and confidence of the Tamil people inside and out of Sri Lanka. Mr Prabakaran seeks only a peaceful resolution to the conflict that has claimed so many unnecessary lives both Sinhala and Tamil. The good faith that Mr Prabakaran has displayed in the proper treatment of 32 detained Sinhalese police officers, which has been verified by the Red Cross, will carry over into the peace negotiations with your government.

Mr Wijetunga, a leader who truly loves his motherland will always seek out peace in his country. Once you decide to stop preparing for war Mr Thondaman will be your best ally to prepare for peace.

Yours very truly
Max Berger
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at the Polo Centre
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REPORTS

CIVILIANS KILLED IN AERIAL BOMBING

Twenty seven civilians at a cultural event at Mathalan village in Mullaitivu District were killed on 18 September when Air Force planes targeted them. Government claimed that eight of those killed in this incident were LTTE members.

Further, on 28 September, twenty civilians in an air raid shelter at Sangathanai in Chavakacheri were buried when air force planes bombed this village to assist ground troops advancing west, fourteen kilometres away. A similar bombing at Kokkuvil further North claimed four civilian lives (all aged over 50 years) when Nandavil temple was hit. Seventeen children at a play school adjoining the temple were also injured.

KILLING FIELDS

The latest figures released in a crime prevention report by the police department gives the number of reported killings from 1 January 1988 to 30 June 1993 as 17,721. The highest figure for a year has been 8,127 in 1989.

It is significant that most extra judicial killings went unreported as were the killings in the war torn north east.

TRANSPORT OF HARVEST

Security forces in Batticaloa District have decreed that harvested paddy could be transported only on the basis of seventy five bushels per acre. This arbitrary ceiling is unrealistic and results in difficulty for the transport of all the paddy harvested.

There is already a ban on paddy cultivation west of the Sandana and Muhundan rivers in this District and the new measure is expected to further reduce the paddy production in the region.

SHELL FIRE DISPLACES RESIDENTS

Residents of Kottady, Naavaanthurai and Araaly in Jaffna District have been forced to flee their villages due to intermittent shelling directed from the Mandaitivu army camp.

THONDAMAN AT ODDS WITH PRESENT LEADERSHIP

Feelings have been running high in the CWC camp, during the past few weeks; Thondaman was said to be expressing concern about the governments statement that the problem in the North and East was one of terrorism and not over the grievances of the Tamil People. Also issues relating to the Estate Sector, particularly with reference to the private management companies of the plantations have added to the strain in their relationship with the government. The understanding arrived at by the UNP government and the companies were not adhered to and the militant section of the CWC are said to be pressuring Mr Thondaman to take an independent stand. CWC's electoral muscle understandably has toughedened up with the grant of citizenship to about 500,000 people of Indian origin in recent years. With the additional vote it would be difficult for any other party to win the electorates in plantation regions, such as Badulla, Nuwara Eliya, Kandy, Ratnapura and Kegalle. Without the support of the CWC the whole of the Central Provincial Council by the UNP too would be lost.

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GOGGLES

THE UNFORGETTABLE TAMIL WRITERS OF EELAM

by C.P. Goliard

Historically, goliards were the mediaeval poets, who wandered from place to place, engaging in intellectual duels and bawdy bar room fights. The initials C.P. stand for the place from which this particular goliard comes from - Parithu Thurai / Cotton Port

In my last Goggle's column (TN. Oct 93), I provided a list of 125 contemporary Tamil writers in Eelam, as published in the 1981 Tamil Writers Directory. After checking that list, I realised that more than 20 "names" of well known Tamil writers of Eelam were not included in that directory. In this column, I provide my assembled list of these left-out but unforgettable "names", in alphabetical order.

Some essential points about this assembled list need mention.

1) This list refers to the "contemporary" Tamil writers who were living around 1980 and not those who had left the scene. Some among this listing had died during the past 13 years. These include, S Vithiananthan, A Sathasivam, J T Rutnam and N Sanmugathasan.

2) I had compiled this list based solely on one criterion, namely, publications on topics related to Eelam Tamil culture, either in Tamil or English. I have disregarded the political affiliations of the individuals. C Rajadurai and K P Ratnam were MPs belonging to the Federal Party and later TULF. Rajadurai ultimately joined the UNP. Kasi Anandan and Eelaventhan were originally FP activists and later identified with the TULF, only to be expelled (or involuntarily left?) later by the TULF. While Sanmugathasan was a loyal CP (Peking) sympathiser for a long time, Dominic Jeeva popularised the CP (Moscow) views.

3) Any list produced by an individual is an incomplete one, and this fact has to be accepted. Having mentioned this, I add that my choice of 25 unforgettable names relate to the literary contributions which were published mostly since 1950. It is my privilege that I had the opportunity to be acquainted (even for a short period) with quite a number of writers mentioned in this list.

4) While I have included some historians arbitrarily in this list, I have excluded the names of internationally recognised academics of Eelam origin (for instance, Sinappah Arasaratnam, Jeyaratnam Wilson, K Kularatnam, H W Tambiah and S J Tambiah) since their works are specialised in the areas of history, political science, geography, law and anthropology.

Dominic Jeeva - journalist and editor of Mallikai monthly
Eelaventhan M K - versatile writer of political, literary and religious tracts.
Gunasingham S - historian and a scholar in epigraphy
Indrapala K - historian
Kanapathipillai, Thenpuloliyur M - folk historian and traditional Tamil scholar
Kathamutha Sivanandan (Kasi Anandan) - poet
Manonmani Sanmugadas - author and specialist in Japanese - Tamil relationships
Nadarajah K S (Navatkuliyoor Nadarasan) - poet
Pathmanathan S - historian
Padmavathi Sabaratnam - populariser of science in Tamil
Pavani Rajasingham (nee Alvapillai) - short story writer
Ponnudurai S (Es.Po) - one of the best Tamil fiction writers of this century
Rajadurai C - journalist and politician
Rajeswari Balasubramaniam - short story writer
Ratnam K P - educator, traditional Tamil scholar and politician
Rathinathurai Puthuvai - poet
Rutnam J T - Historian and archeologist
Sanmugathasan N - Marxist - Maoist theorist and trade union activist
Sathasivam A - Tamil scholar
Selvarasan Sillaiyoor (Thanthonri Kavirayar) - poet
Shanmugaratnam N - critic
Sivakumaran K S - critic and translator
Sivanayagam S - journalist and Eelam pamphleteer
Thangamma Appakuddy - traditional Tamil scholar
Vithiananthan S - folk lorist and Tamil scholar

5) One of my aims in presenting this list and annotations is to highlight the necessity to prepare an authoritative reference work on the published literature of Eelam writers of this century. And someone should do this work by the year 2000, before memories fade.

Now to my annotation on some of the traits I recognised in the ten writers of my list. I follow the alphabetical order.

Dominic Jeeva: In my young days, I didn't like the ideological flag waving exhibited by Dominic Jeeva in his Mallikai magazine. However, I was captivated by the charm of his writing and the tenacity with which he struggled through to produce a Tamil literary magazine from Jaffna.

M K Eelaventhan: One of the under-rated Tamil talents of Eelam. In the mid 1970s I had the luck to see in close-up how Eelaventhan functioned actively even under harassment. His command in Tamil and English was impeccable and if only he could have sat down in a room with a pen, rather than being a road writer, Eelaventhan could have produced a voluminous output.

S Gunasingham: I was fortunate to be a room-mate of him at the University of Peradeniya during 1979-80. His penchant for using the library for long hours became a legend in those years. If not for such studious habit, he couldn't have produced those little epigraphical monographs on Trincomalee.

K Indrapala: One can summarise his contributions with the phrase "What a waste of talent!".

Kasi Anandan: I met Kasi Anandan only once that too at the Suthantiran office in Colombo. What transpired between us at that meeting had faded from my memory, except one observation. Kasi told me that one should view any situation from the angle of the bat, the flying mammal. By this, he obviously referred to the "upside-down view". Later only, I realised his poetic mind of this particular quote. If only, Kasi Anandan could have spent more time in penning poetry rather than dabbling in electoral politics of 1977, Tamil literature would have been much richer.

Padmavathi Sabaratnam: One of my high school teacher, whose popular writings on science in the Sunday Thinakaran was an inspiration to many young minds.

S Ponnudurai (Es.Po): One of the few writers of Eelam who could easily be ranked as belonging to the Nobel prize calibre. It is a misfortune that his short stories and novels have not been translated into English or other languages. The biting humour of Es.Po is a class in itself.

C Rajadurai: After the death of S J V Chelvanayakam in early 1977, Rajadurai's political fortune as a Tamil leader took a bad turn. He misjudged the mood of the young Tamils. Now in hindsight (after the passing of "Amirthalingam wave"), I feel that Rajadurai's contributions to Tamil nationalism and literature in the East Eelam of 1950s and early 1960s need re-evaluation. Whatever may be his misgivings in the 1980s, Rajadurai did earn the trust of Chelvanayakam as well as the friendship of MGR and Kannadasan in Tamil Nadu, way back in 1950s. One couldn't have been such a "bad guy" to be misjudged by three beloved Tamil leaders.

J T Rutnam: He wore many hats with distinction - an agitator, labour leader, (electorally unsuccessful) politician, journalist, genealogist, social critic and last but not the least, one of the foremost collector of books. James Rutnam's penetrative analyses on the "Tamil blood" of Bandaranaikes and Jayewardenes (originally published in the Colombo Tribune in mid-1950s as "The House of Nila Perumal" and "The Legacy of Tamby Mudaliyar") have become classics in the genealogical research of landed aristocracy among Sinhalese. Rutnam also traced the true ancestry of King Parakrama Bahu to the chagrin of the followers of Mahavamsa Chronicle.

S Vithiananthan: Vithy's pioneering effort in collecting and editing the folk songs of Tamils and Muslims of Eelam has not been matched yet. Next to the classic research studies of Swami Vipulananda on the ancient Tamil music (Yaal Nool, first published in 1942), I would consider Vithy's compilations of the Tamil folk songs as a significant contribution to the sphere of isai thamil in Eelam.

Goliard's Graffiti: Dunce Babble Wijetunga

The Time magazine of June 14th carried in its "Talk of the Streets" column, what had been implied by the initials D B of the current Sri Lankan president Wijetunga. In early 1980s, D B stood for "Dearly Beloved Wijetunga" because he was a popular minister. After he was promoted to the post of prime minister by the late Premadasa, D B came to stand for "Dear and Blind Wijetunga", because he was merely a puppet in the hands of wily Premadasa. After his master's unexpected demise on May 1st of this year, Wijetunga was anointed with the sobriquet" Doing Bloody Well" (DBW), because he relaxed some authoritarian controls.

Well, that was six months ago. Then, Wijetunga was a quiet man. Even fools can pretend to be scholarly, when they don't open their mouths. Once Wijetunga was forced to open his mouth, he proved what he is worth in intellectual terms. His greatest discovery of this year was that the Eelam issue is not at all an ethnic issue, but a mere "terrorist problem". By this pronouncement, he had "disproved" all the observations recorded by the unbiased international scholars and journalists. So, Goliard wishes to confer on him a new appellation. Wijetunga's initials D B should stand for "Dunce Babble".

As many would have known, the word dunce is defined in the dictionary as "one shows no capacity for learning; a dull-witted stupid person; a dullard, block head". And the verb babble relates to "inarticulate or meaningless sounds; to blurt out thoughtlessly". Having completed the biblical span of three score and ten years, it appears the DBW's brain has re-entered the baby phase of the life cycle again. Hence, the babble.

But, Goliard hesitates to criticise Wijetunga too much. Why should one expect that the titular head of Sri Lanka should posses the brains of Bertrand Russell or a Bernard Shaw? At least in Sri Lanka, there hasn't been a precedence along these lines. So, let us enjoy Dunce Babble Wijetunga's inanity for what it is worth - comic relief.

LETTER TO AN EDITOR

Adrian Wijemanne's reply to the Sunday Island

Dear Mr. Editor,

I have just had the opportunity of reading your exhortatory editorial entitled "Wake up !" in your issue of Sunday 1st August '93. What comes through very clearly is your sense of pained surprise at a debacle such as that at Janakapura "despite all the money, men and equipment committed to this ten-year effort to curb northern terrorism."

There seems to be a conceptual problem which lies at the root of the pained surprise. The problem is this. What is the nature of the enemy whom we fight ? Is the enemy "northern terrorists" i.e. a criminal conspiracy akin to gang robbers bent on plunder etc. for their own aggrandisement similar to the Mafia ? Or is the enemy a nationalist guerrilla force bent on establishing a separate state for their nation ?

If it is the former, then the money, men and equipment committed to their suppression can certainly be regarded as adequate and we must search for reasons as to why the results which could legitimately be expected have not materialised. On the other hand if the enemy is a nationalist guerrilla force bent on establishing a separate state for their nation, then very serious doubts arise as to the adequacy of the money, men and equipment committed to fighting such a guerrilla force.

Since you have mentioned "money" first let us look at the adequacy of the funds provided for the effort. Early this year, the late president declared that Rs. 23 billion was being provided this year for it. The British government is engaged in a very similar effort against the IRA in Northern Ireland and spends £3 billion per annum on it. This is approximately Rs. 230 billion or 10 times what the Sri Lanka government spends. The IRA is a very small force numerically - around 300 "hard men" - and Northern Ireland is about two-thirds of the land area of the north-east province of Sri Lanka. So you provide less than one tenth of what is provided for a similar effort in Northern Ireland.

You refer next to "men". The comparison there raises serious doubts about adequacy. The British army and the Ulster Defence Forces together field about 110 troops to 1 IRA guerrilla and yet after 25 years of relentless fighting the IRA is stronger today than at any time during the conflict. The Sri Lanka army fields 10 to 1 against the LTTE assuming that 80,000 men, or the bulk of the Sri Lanka army, are deployed against the 8,000 front-line fighters of the LTTE. (Indian assessments have put the LTTE's strength at around 30,000 but I am using the lower figure of 8,000 just for the purposes of argument). The British troops in Northern Ireland are well trained professional soldiers many of whom have been in action in the Falklands and Gulf wars. Even so a ratio of 110 to 1 against the IRA has proved insufficient. The Sri Lanka army is of recent origin, has not been in action overseas and is less well-trained than the British army. To believe it can do better at 10 to 1 against the LTTE, a far more numerous and formidable force than the IRA, than the British army has been able to do so far against the IRA, one would have to take leave of one's senses altogether.

Next you refer to equipment. All the equipment required by the British forces in Northern Ireland - arms, ammunition, transport, communications equipment, medical supplies, fuel, food etc. is produced in this country. None of it has to be imported. Sri Lanka has to import all this using its limited foreign exchange for the purpose. It may be countered that the LTTE is in exactly the same position. The answer to that is "not quite" - for the LTTE devotes all its foreign exchange resources to the war whereas the Sri Lanka government has to provide foreign exchange first for the requirements of a civil government which has a high propensity for foreign exchange-swallowing imports. The enormous costs both in foreign exchange and local currency of a civil government amount to an albatross round the neck of, the Sri Lanka forces. The LTTE is entirely free of such a burden.

To sum up, the Sri Lanka forces are grossly inadequately funded for such a conflict, have not the numbers on the ground even for bare survival and are hamstrung by the ballooning costs of a civil government which seems unable to comprehend the true nature of the conflict in which it is engaged and is obsessed with the politics of survival to the exclusion of all else.

Wars are very debilitating. Britain's 25 year (and as yet unsuccessful) war against the IRA has contributed in no small measure to its relative decline vis-à-vis its partners in the European Community all of whom, except Spain, are at peace. In Sri Lanka if anything remotely resembling an adequate effort is to be mounted an army 5 times its present size for instance - civil government will disappear and even so the final outcome will be dubious. It is a sobering thought that no nationalist guerrilla war aimed at establishing a separate state has ever ended other than by the establishment of such a separate state - from the Irish Republic in 1922 to the state of Eritrea in 1993 and in all the years in between.

These, dear Mr. Editor, are the realities to which the Sinhala people and their government will have to wake up.

Yours wideawakedly,
Adrian Wijemanne

EXPATRIATE TAMILS MADE TO LOOK LIKE FOOLS

Whenever a Sri Lankan function or a get together is organised many Tamils, who are not directly or officially involved in its organisation, attend because of their close affinities to Sri Lanka and because it is their island home. Many Tamils living abroad have not visited the island for several years and are naturally nostalgic; they therefore use these occasions to meet old friends and acquaintances.

There are also annual fixtures like the Annual Cricket Carnival, where the old boys of Sri Lankan schools, including those in the North East, participate in a championship. Tamils have always done well in these cricket matches, although the Sri Lankan National Cricket Team is bereft of Tamil representation. Even prestigious schools like Royal and St Thomas are reluctant to include Tamils in their teams. Jaffna Central College has won the championship during the last three consecutive matches and is justly proud of it, showing Tamil superiority in the field of sport too!

The Sri Lankan Line Flag flutters proudly and the English are full of praise for the standard of play and camaraderie, despite the ongoing liberation war at home. I am sure the British view this with great amusement - fighting in Sri Lanka and then playing cricket here??

However, there is something very sinister going on behind the scenes, quite unknown to the simple Tamils who gather at these occasions and contribute happily to these festivities. They seem to have completely forgotten that it was the July 1983 communal holocaust that made them flee to England. They do not realise that the Sri Lankan High Commission has taken steps to warn all the emergency Services to stand by on the remote possibility that the "Tigers" would provoke a riot. Nothing happens, but the High Commission uses this absence of violence to their utmost advantage. They tell the British Government and the rest of the world 'Didn't we tell you, the Tamils actually are not interested in separation it's just the 'Terrorists' who are causing all the trouble'.

So the simple Eelam Tamils return home or to the pub to celebrate their success, while the wily Sinhalese go laughing all the way home, justly happy at a job well done in broadcasting a message of Sinhala-Tamil harmony. Some even say "Oh! We let them win to keep the fools happy, so that they would return next year too." Sinhala craftiness has exposed our weakness and shown us that we are not as clever as we think we are.

In the meantime the Minister of Finance in Sri Lanka is making international phone calls to Geneva and Paris, He strongly denies Human Rights violations in the North East, pointing out Sinhala-Tamil harmony among expatriates all over the world because these cricket, matches etc. are organised in many other countries like Canada and Australia where Sinhalese and Tamils now live. So he gets his IMF loan without a problem and he spends Rs 25 Billion a year on buying arms to bombard our people and colonise our homeland. The Sinhala elite, like the Senanayakes Bandaranaikes and Jayawardenes, have done this to us over and over again They play cricket with us and then use their charm on the simple unsuspecting Tamils. They then kill off the Tamils and occupy their Homeland and create a refugee problem.

Now President Wijetunge is saying "Please don't condone the practice of referring to the so-called ethnic problem, because there really is no such ethnic problem".

We complain to the British Government and their standard reply is "We do not condone terrorism". We play the English game of cricket with the Sinhalese on English soil and then we write to them accusing the Sinhala Government of Human Rights etc., so what can you expect? We must not let ourselves be misled into playing into Sinhala hands. **Our actions must appear to indicate to the world that there is really an ethnic problem that has caused a Tamil Diaspora.** The Sinhalese are a charming but cunning people and we must always be aware of the current political situation at home and not let down the thousands who have been killed by the Sinhalese and are now giving their lives for the freedom of our race. **This sense of awareness seems to be lacking in expatriate Tamils everywhere and they transmit the wrong image.** It must be remembered that often actions speak louder than words and could be inimical to our freedom struggle.

We must not let ourselves be used against ourselves however much we may disagree with the politics. It is not just a matter of racism, but a more important matter of conduct prejudicial to the liberation of our ancient Tamil homeland. I am sure there is no Eelam Tamil with soul so dead that he does not wish the liberation of the land of his fathers.

Lt Col Anton J N Selvadurai
Press Officer
Federation of Tamil Associations of the United Kingdom

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ABANDON THE NORTH-EASTERN PROVINCIAL DE-MERGER

by Professor Kopan Mahadeva

It is reported that President D B Wijetunge has announced new dates on which a referendum is scheduled to take place in the North-eastern Province on the question of its de-merger. The last date announced was 19th August 1993, but quite wisely none took place on that date. The new dates are reported to be 18th February 1994 for the East and 28th April for the North.

The Northern and Eastern Provinces of Eelam were merged in terms of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of 1987, because "the Northern and the Eastern Provinces have been areas of historical habitation of Sri Lankan Tamil-speaking peoples, who have at all times hitherto lived together in this territory..." The words, "Since the Government of Sri Lanka proposes to permit adjoining Provinces to form one administrative unit..." in Clause 2.1 indicate that a merger was not solely intended for the above two provinces but also possibly for the provinces in any future multi-provincial/multi-state structure.

The words "a referendum to separate as may be permitted" (and not "as must be permitted" nor "as will be permitted,") in the same Clause of the 1987 Agreement indicate that the merger was, more than not, meant to be permanent.

The Tamil speaking-people of the Eastern Province are almost entirely Ceylon Tamils and Muslims. The 1988 Tamil-Muslim Agreement between the MULF and LTTE accepted a merged administration in the contiguous homeland composed of the Northern and Eastern Provinces. The Accord of 1990 between five Tamil and three Muslim parties under one Provincial Council. Seven top Ceylon Tamil political parties and the CWC have recently recommended a permanent merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces, to the Parliamentary Select Committee. The LTTE has reiterated a permanent merger of the two provinces, inter alia, as a basis for promoting peace, to the 1992 Delegation of Buddhist Monks. Thus, the Tamil-speaking people of the merged North-Eastern Province want the merger to remain permanent, with ethnic power-sharing for its Sinhalese citizens too.

The specific time limit provided in the 1987 Agreement for any referendum was "on or before December 31, 1988". But all three Presidents have used their discretion and postponed the referendum several times so far, which was only meant as a possibility anyway. The merged province has been administered continuously for five years including by a Governor for three years, without any requests from its citizens for a de-merger. Also the referendum has been effectively invalidated by the course of the 1987-1993 events.

Considering all the above facts, the proposed N-E Referendum must be abandoned once and for all, since it will impede the intended peace process and will never be acceptable to the Tamil-speaking people. Hence it is strongly recommended that President Wijetunga should take the initiative and postpone it "indefinitely and irrevocably," with immediate effect, as an opening diplomatic gesture, and thus pave the way for the commencement of a chain of responses to trigger a speedy and fruitful peace process to recommence within the next few months.

APPEAL TO PRESIDENT CLINTON

Your Excellency

Sri Lankan Government Air Force, Navy and Army are indiscriminately bombarding and firing artillery shells into thickly populated Jaffna Peninsula and other Tamil areas of the North East Province and killing innocent civilians. Several thousands of innocent Tamils have been arrested in Colombo and other areas. Your country has a good heart and every year gives several millions of dollars in cash and in goods as aid to Sri Lanka. Most of this aid does not go to the Tamils and Muslims of the North East Province. The people in the Jaffna District are starving and dying early without proper medicines and medical attention.

Your country has the all powerful leverage (financial and other aid) to put a complete stop to the indiscriminate killings of the Tamils. Please bring up the case of the Sri Lankan Tamils in the United Nations and request the United Nations to mediate and bring peace in Sri Lanka. The United Nations should force the Sri Lankan Government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam to accept mediation by the United Nations. If they refuse United Nations mediation, then all members of the United Nations should completely cut off financial and other forms of aid to Sri Lanka.

Immediately all members of the United Nations should be requested not to sell or give away arms and ammunition to Sri Lanka.

The Sri Lankan Government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam should be requested to declare cease fire and accept United Nations mediation.

I know that you and your country are trying your level best to bring peace in various countries. PLEASE GIVE SOME ATTENTION TO THE NORTH EAST SRI LANKA AND HELP TO BRING PEACE THERE. PLEASE GIVE TOP PRIORITY TO THE ABOVE REQUESTS AND SUGGESTIONS AND MAKE THE UNITED NATIONS MEDIATE IN THE ETHNIC WAR IN SRI LANKA.

Yours truly in the name of PEACE

V T Saravanapavan

TAMIL DETAINEES IN N E MILITARY CAMPS

Human Rights Task Force in its annual report has revealed the number of detainees held in military camps in North-East as at 10 August 1993. The camps where detainees are held have been listed with Eastern Province accounting for the vast majority. Some of the camps listed are:-

Camps	Number of Detainees
Batticaloa Military/ Police Camp -	928
Trincomalee Military Camp -	141
Amparai military camp -	27
Hardy military camp -	06
Batticaloa military prison -	142
Kommathurai military prison -	50
Trincomalee military prison -	718
Valaichchenai military prison -	07
Thandikulam military prison -	75
Islands military prison -	16
Wanni military prison -	60

Military authorities have maintained that all detainees have LTTE links.

In addition to these 2224 detainees, 960 Tamil detainees have been listed as being held at the Kalutara and Magazine prisons. The report also reveals that HRTF received 2351 complaints of disappearances but it has been able to trace only 114 persons.

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LETTER TO THE EDITOR 'TAMIL NATION'

The August-September issue of 'Tamil Nation deserves our admiration for the courage expressed through the publication of Lemurian's excellent article on the 'Indian Brahmins' which was very well authenticated by historical facts with up-to-date figures and critical analysis.

For too long, we Tamils and Saivite Hindus in particular have been taken for a ride by the Brahmins who translated everything valuable in our centuries old ancient religious and agamic Tamil literature into Sanskrit and then subtly destroyed our Tamil originals by deception of the poor and ignorant Tamils of that time. And now, they are selling our "old (Tamil Saiva agamic) wine in new (Sanskrit) bottles" back to us to make a living out of religion - at the same time manipulating events not only religious but social and political so that their privileged position is safe and well. As Lemurian says, there are of course exceptions and we have nothing against the average Brahmin. But just as Gandhi opposed British Imperialism, we must oppose the deceit and double standards of Indian Brahminism to oppress Tamil Nationalist aspirations anywhere in the world.

Indeed, a national crisis must awaken in us a capacity to face facts, learn our lessons from the past and seek remedial action for a bright future for our people. One looks forward to Part II of this landmark article for which Lemurian deserves the praise of all Tamils.

Dr Thiru Murthy, Ontario, Canada

INDIAN BRAHMINS
Part 2

In Part 1 of this series (Tamil Nation August/September, 1993) we had a glimpse of the inborn immorality of the Indian Brahmins and their tortuous history on the Indian soil. The article was very much a bird's eye view. Now in Part 2 we come down to earth and get a closer look at the Indian Brahmin and watch him from various angles to take stock of the havoc he has played on the Indian soil.

To help the reader to understand and appreciate the subject we offer a simile. English readers are well aware of tales of Blacks roasting Whites in darkest Africa and while the supper is cooking, singing and dancing to the beat of the drums. Now transfer this picture to the Indian plains and let the whites torture the Blacks, Browns and Yellows, not in physical fire, but in psychic fire, a thousand time more painful and watch the Whites do a Bharata Natyam to the strains of Carnatic music, and you will get somewhat close to the reality of the situation.

Yet again to help the reader we give a short note on the unique anthropology of India to set the backdrop to the macabre dance of the Indian Brahmins.

Sir Arthur Keith in "Ethnos" gives a graphic picture. He says Huxley drew a line from Africa to China and saw it turn from black to brown and then to yellow. He drew another line from West Europe to Australia and saw it turn from pale white to brown and dark brown. The lines crossed in India. Huxley was puzzled about the Dravidians, but eventually he grouped them with the Austroloids.

Sir Arthur Keith himself affirms that the Blacks, Yellows and Whites are of recent origin but the Browns have remained unchanged through time. Now coupled with concepts of Lemuria, Kumarikandam and Tamil Sangams stretching to 15,000 years, there appears positive proof of the antiquity of the Dravidian Race in India.

S S Sarkar, eminent Indian anthropologist affirms that at one time Australoids were present all over India and the Dravidians belong to the Austaloid family. (See "Ancient Races of the Deccan").

Now the unique part of Indian anthropology is that the people who went out and changed colours came back. The Yellows came back through the north-east and went all along the East Coast of India, South to Nagapattinam and Nagerkoil and blossomed as the Nayars of Kerala. The Yellows also went into the heart of India and were centred in Chota Nagpur.

The Whites, Nordics, Alpine and Mediterranean poured into India through the north-west and occupied the North and the West of India. A slender stream of Blacks took refuge in the secluded folds in the Western ghats in Kerala and proceeded to Andamans, Malaysia, New Guinea and the Pacific islands.

The 'Aryans' in the North, according to Bongard Levin, in "The origin of the Aryans", had stayed in Iran for a very long time and a better term is 'Indo-Iranians' than Aryans. Also Radhakrishnan Choudhary comments on page 20 of "Vratayas of Ancient India". "Even the Aryans themselves were not free from mixtures. They passed through Syria and Mesopotamia absorbing good deal of Semitic blood before they reached India". So much for the Aryan myth. But way down in the Southern tip of India with a heartland centred in Tiurnelveli a Dravidian hard-core seems to have survived to our own times. Prof V R Ramchandran in "Origin and spread of the Tamils" maintains Tamils are natives of India who spread out even as far as Spain and Ireland, Devaneyar Parvanar proves that the Tamil language is the purest in Tirunelveli and declines as it spreads over India and indeed the whole world.

This staggering variety was a Godsend to the Indian Brahmins. They proceeded to make the confusion worse confounded by the system of castes and made 96% majority lesser and weaker than their 4% minority. Herein lies the devilish havoc the Indian Brahmins played and are still playing in India.

What makes the Indian Brahmin so obnoxious on the Indian soil? The first and foremost crime is that he made himself an exclusive person. He conceived the idea of a distinctive community and gave it external form in the sacred thread and the top knot. He originated the concept of "we" and "they?", worse still he worked for the waxing of the "we" and waning of the "they" and he has done it for the past 3500 years. His cousins, the Jews devised a similar secret painful sign, circumcision, to distinguish themselves and kept aloof from others but paid for it dearly in recent times. Will history repeat itself in India?

There are a thousand ways in which the Indian Brahmin perpetrated this crime against humanity. Space forbids our taking up all his misdeeds but as a sample of his deadly instincts we will consider religion, caste and language.

We are taking three sectors as separate units purely to facilitate analysis. In reality they are intricately intertwined, and this must be kept in mind to get a holistic view of the Indian Brahmins.

The Hindu religion is the handiwork of the Indian Brahmins. In its structure, literature and ceremonial he has left his indelible mark. Let us take the structure of the Hindu Religion. In Indian anthropology we have indicated that the Indian Brahmin came into a world of variegated people, religions, languages and cultures. The Hindu religion was structured to bring the medley of religions into the stranglehold of the Indian Brahmins. Even here he has taken particular care to carve a special niche for himself.

Brahma was kept head and shoulders above all the Gods of the natives and even the name of the Indian Brahmin derives its origin from Brahma, thus giving the Indian Brahmin exclusive priority in matters of religion.

Saivaism, Vaishnavism, Saktism and a whole pantheon of religions reaching down to way side village deities were drafted into service into Hindu religion and assigned secondary roles. A dark side of the Indian Brahmin is evident in this master move to isolate and weaken Buddhism which was making heavy inroads into the masses of India. Killing two birds, nay many birds, with one stone is a characteristic of the Indian Brahmins.

The ranking of the Gods in the Hindu Pantheon is in strict accordance with the power of the adherents of the various sects. Thus Saivaism and Vaishnavism receive favoured treatment to placate the sentiments of these powerful groups.

Now we will take a look at the literature of the Hindu religion. Hereto the deadly hand of the Indian Brahmin is clearly visible. The Vedas, and Upanishads are truly great compositions with deep understanding. But the Brahamanas, Epics and puranas are prosaic, verbose and in many sections highly erotic and obscene creations. Long before the American Best Sellers discovered the value of erotic literature to boost sales, the Indian Brahmin had been on the job! Dr Ambedkar and Periyar EVR have gone to great lengths to analyse Hindu literature to pin point the perversity of the Indian Brahmins. In a figurative sense we can say Hindu literature is a framework of unique Vedic thought, in all probability of Aryan Origin on which the Semitic Indian Brahmins have hung their dirty linen, in the form of arrogance, pride, vengeance and deceit couched in myths and mythology. This is very much evident in the Mahabharata which is a massive tome of 'Yellow pages' with a snow-white Gita stuck in the middle. Mahabaratha is the key to the twisted and treacherous psyche of the Indian Brahmins.

There is another criminal factor in the nature of the Indian Brahmins evident in the structure of the Hindu religion. Not content with hanging his dirty linen on Vedic frame-work, the Indian Brahmin with temerity proceeded to delete, interpolate and misrepresent the Vedas. The classic case is the tenth chapter of the Rig Veda, the most sacred book in all Hindu literature. Dr Ambedkar in "Who are the Harijans?" has gone to great length to establish this bare-faced forgery. The Himalayan heights of Rig Vedic thought have been brought down to despicable low levels by this interpolation, in order to perpetuate caste and preserve the primacy of the Indian Brahmins.

Next we take up caste. There is no better way to understand the cunning of the Indian Brahmin than through caste. This is a system peculiar to India and it is certain that the perpetrators are Indian Brahmins. Again we have to look back to the anthropology of India. There were many races, colours, and forms of people in India and they formed the formidable majority of nearly 96% of the population of India. Through caste, the Indian Brahmins cut up this monolith of natives to insignificant minorities on the basis of caste. He fanned the flames of hatred and envy and set caste against caste. Even to this day the flames kindled by the Indian Brahmin is raging in roaring flames. Indian Society is a seething, simmering, stinking whirlpool of social justice on caste basis. The culprit, the Indian Brahmin, is seated quietly in the still centre of this whirlpool and by unnoticeable tiny movements, keeping the whirlpool in motion taking advantage of being in the centre.

Caste gives short, straight access to the putrid mind and heart of the Indian Brahmin. Its variety, intricacy and nuances are facets of the criminal propensities of the Indian Brahmin. It has taken such deep roots it is very nigh impossible to eradicate it, and with caste India has not a ghost of a chance to real economic, social and cultural survival. All the glitter of India of modern times is fake, a tinsel world of make-belief the Indian Brahmin has fabricated to hoodwink the world.

A whole magic world of philosophy, literature, dance, music, drama, architecture and culture have been raised on an inhuman base of caste

(continued on page 8)

INDIAN BRAHMINS
Part 2

(continued from page 7)

which consigns millions to eternal degradation. This is indeed the handiwork of the Indian Brahmin. Unless and until caste is rooted out and the Indian Brahmin marginalised in the process, the native Indian cannot come into his own in his own land.

He will add but a short note on the religious literature created by the Indian Brahmins as very much of it has unconsciously crept into our discussion of religion and caste.

There are three books-Manusmiriti. Arthasastra and Kamasutra for which the Indian Brahmins claim credit need to be seen in a new light.

The Indian Brahmin has even gone to the extent of insinuating that the sacred Kural of the Tamils is actually a copy of Arthasastra, Kamasutra and the religious books of Brahmin literature.

Manusmirti is perhaps the only document in the world which has set down on record rules for human rights violations in pedantic detail without a shred of shame. Its whole import is to propel the Indian Brahmin to the pinnacle and push the sudras to a bottomless pit of degradation. Moreover it stipulates inhuman punishment if the Sudra makes even a slight move to better his position. No wonder the whole composition is sweet music to the Indian Brahmin's ear. The Indian Brahmin cares too hoots, for the effect on the sutras. This is Indian Brahmin in all his hideous nakedness.

Arthasastra is par excellence the classic on diplomacy and administration, the Indian Brahmin brain has concocted. Maybe Machiaveli came across faded, moth-eaten remnants of arthasastra to help in his written! The crude cunning, the immorality, heartless insensitivity, all come alive in the pages of arthasastra. The Indian Brahmin has lived by this code for three thousand years and right now it seems to be the Bible of the Indian Brahmin politics and administration of India. Note the insistence of Narasimha Rao that Human rights concepts do not have relevance to India. The blood of the Indian Brahmins is soaked in social injustice.

Kamasutra is indeed a classic in eroticism. It gives a peep into the hidden life of the Indian Brahmins. With the unstinted support of Emperors and Kinds, the dupes of Indian Brahmins, towering temples rose all over India specially in Tamil-nadu which became the home of devadashis, dancers and women of easy virtue and the Indian Brahmin was privileged to rule the roost. Kamasutra is a compendium along with erotic sculptures on temple walls to give unbridled reigns to the Indian Brahmin for endless amorous escapades, in secret dark corners in temples in the name of religion. Kamasutra is a living monument to the immorality of the Indian Brahmin and to equate it with the chaste Tamil Kural on love is the very depths of infamy. But the Indian Brahmin in total dissipation, is stone dead to the finer values of life.

To conclude our discussion on language we will give a few observations on Sanskrit, the pride of the Indian Brahmins. As the literal meaning of Sanskrit indicates it is no doubt a perfected language. No one will grudge the Indian Brahmin the credit he deserves for having evolved a language with special care for sound, accent, meter, syntax and simile.

The pride of the Indian Brahmin has turned into prejudice for other tongues and the history of language controversies in Indian is a sad and sorry one.

Unfortunately for the Indian Brahmin Tamil has stood-up as a solid rock against all the tantrums of the Indian Brahmin.

Indian Brahmins had gone to the extent of claiming sole propriety rights to culture and language on Indian soil till excavations in 1924 in Indus Valley knocked the bottom out of the claim to culture and civilisation. Rev Caldwell's "Grammar of Dravidian Languages" caught the Indian Brahmin again on the wrong foot. The Indian Brahmin has muddled up the language issue so much that generations of scholars are still at a loss to sort out the origin and development of Indian Languages. Even today Herculean efforts are afoot to root out Tamil in Tamilnadu and impose Hindi on Tamils. Such is the mean depths to which Indian Brahmins can descend.

As we stated at the beginning the Indian Brahmin has played and is continuing to play merry havoc on Indian soil. That is beyond doubt. But how did he come to do it? This is indeed a vital subject that needs thorough detail study. We are pressed for space so we summarise.

The Indian Brahmin started as a beggar and mendicant with a begging bowl, with a bifurcated dhoti around his waist, a thin shawl on his shoulders with the sacred thread and top know as his trade mark, also a symbol of protection. These were rigid rules of his caste.

Very soon he threw the rules to the wind. Because he had arrogated to himself the sphere of literacy and forbidden the other on pain of physical torture to refrain from study he monopolised thought and word and became the trusted confidant of Emperors and Kins, with brawn and no brains. That is the break the Indian Brahmin made at the top.

Seated in his tiny temple shrine in villages across India he spread his venomous tentacles at the bottom level among the masses.

By secret parleys, melas, pilgrimages and festivals the Indian Brahmins maintained a monolithic unity among themselves to deceive and exploit from the top and the bottom. The vast continent of India with its millions became clay in the hands of the wily Indian Brahmin to mould to his hearts content.

Look back to Gandhiji trudging across the face of India and Nehru plotting and planning in Delhi and you get a picture close enough.

From the position of counsellor and teacher the Indian Brahmin branched into administration and tightened his hold on the masses. Even in Moslem days the Indian Brahmin held on precariously to these traditional roles. With the arrival of British as we noted in Part-1 he blossomed. He branched into professions, trade, commerce and industry. To this very day he holds the plums in literally all the fields of endeavour, just take a good look at the table below.

With the arrival of the Americans the Indian Brahmins became aware of bright new horizons in electronics, computers, space flights, mass media, and international espionage and intrigue. Droves of Indian Brahmins are flocking to America to master the latest innovations and attempting to tighten their hold on Indian masses.

The Pathetic failure of V P Singh and the rise to power of Sly Narasimha Rao is a preview of treacheries the Indian Brahmins will let loose on the Indian Masses.

There is a fatal blow the Indian Brahmins have dealt to the soul of India which is not very well documented.

From times immemorial asceticism has been the rule of life in India before the arrival of Aryans around 1500 BC. The terracotta plate from Indus Valley with "Siva" is a lone sentinel across millennia to this ideal. The Indian Brahmins effected a radical change. Brahminic literature itself records this foul deed. They speak of Nivriti marga (world denying) and Pravriti Marga (world affirming) principles. Nivriti Marga was headed by Sana, Sanatasujata, Sanaka, Sandandana, Sanatakumara, Kapila and Sanatan a (Note peculiarity of names). The pravriti marga was headed by Marici, Atre, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasista. The Indian Brahmins trace their decent from Vasista's line. This gave them unlimited scope to satisfy their congenital seeking after the good things of life.

This parting of the ways has led through the centuries to the conflict of philosophy of Gandhiji, and Nehru. In spite of close association with Gandhiji, Nehru was unable to break his Brahmin mould. The Nehru tradition has led India to the sorry spectacle of Dr Manmohan Singh with a begging bowl in Washington. Gandhiji and asceticism has been safely confined to cold storage.

Hear the graphic words of Balakrishan Nair in "Dynamic Brahmin" Page 78, "In fact it is not quite a well known fact that the Orthodox Brahmin had at one time offered to Mahatma Gandhi the choice of the acceptance of Brahminhood which he characteristically refused. The fact that he was finally assassinated by a fanatic Chitpavan Brahmin of Poona is more than significant of the suppressed hostility of these caste conscious Brahmins all over India, who could not share the enlightened views of the great soul".

In a nut shell the murder of Gandhi is the murder of native Indian soul. The Jews, the cousins of Indian Brahmins committed a similar crime in the murder of Christ.

It is indeed a sign of the times and an ominous portent for the future that under American patronage the Jews and Indian Brahmins are coming ever closer together, and the Indian Brahmins are laying the foundation for head on collision with native India whose rumblings are heard in Punjab, Kashmir, Assam and Tamilnadu.

If the sons of the soil do not wake-up from their slumber and face the facts of life they have only themselves to blame and no others. Beware, you have been warned.

Lemurian

Government Jobs - Class 1

Departments	Total	Schedule Castes	Backward Castes	Brahmin High Castes
Ministry Officers	11707	810	303	10564
		7.10%	2.59%	90.23%
Central Government	81325	5399	4147	71779
Departments		6.64%	5.09%	88.27%
Other Departments	80994	3652	3719	73623
		4.51%	4.50%	90.90%
Total	174026	9891	8169	155966
Indian Army	1379	48	9	1322
				96%

"NATIONALISM, FEDERALISM AND REALISM" etc. - SOME REFLECTIONS.

by Satchi Ponnambalam

In a well-conceived, rigorously structured and pungently written essay under the above- caption (reproduced in the TAMIL NATION of July 1993), Adrian Wijemanne (formerly of the Ceylon Civil Service and also of the 'World Council of Churches), joins issue with the PRAVDA'S editorial call (December 1992) for a "Farewell to Nationalism".

Wijemanne wrote: ".....Farewell to Nationalism seems to fly in the face of current history. The 20th century has seen the triumph of nationalism over Ideologies, especially internationalist ideologies. Five years after the October Revolution of 1917, Irish nationalism broke into two the state which was then the mother country of the largest, empire on earth, a state which had emerged victorious from World War I and was then the foremost industrial country of the world – Great Britain. Seventy years later nationalism caused the relatively peaceful unravelling of the Soviet empire. It has dissolved Yugoslavia into 5 ethnic states in a welter of fighting....Nationalism is at the heart of most of the world conflicts today. Is Ii nationalism that is to blame or those who oppose it? As just mentioned, nationalism has given rise to many peaceful separations.

"Nationalism is not a structured political philosophy that can be expressed in measured, objective categories capable of analytical dissection – It is an emotion grounded in the hearts of men and women (even children) and It propels them into attitudes and actions which are whether heroic or repulsive - depending on the eye of the beholder. It Is not a "project" (In the intriguing language of social anthropology; it is more like a "happening" in pop culture People do not bid farewell either formally or informally - It wears off after the object of the heart's desire is achieved".

Although much of this analysis of nationalism so picturesquely expressed and captivatingly romanticised is factually unexceptionable, there are certain important distinctions which the writer has failed to draw and over-rated the so-called mystic aspect of the ideology in shaping the political destinies of the named countries. Nationalism did not erupt in a whimsical and spontaneous explosion In the freeing of Ireland or the break-up of Soviet Union and Yugoslavia but as the result of a slow and incremental process of resistance to great power oppression i.e., against chauvinism.

We can never allow ourselves to forget Sun Yat-Sen's dictum that nationalism, along with democracy and socialism, is one of the three great movements of the day. Nationalism, in its positive and agreeable form refers to and represents the adoption of policies to advance the welfare of one's own people. But In its negative and degenerate form it results in the adoption of policies to advance the welfare of one's own people by a big nation hostile to and at the expense of other nations. This big nation oppression leads to resistance and liberation struggles resulting in the break-up of the State and freedom of the oppressed nation.

Lenin described nationalism as " a broad and very deep Ideological current". Indeed there is none as deep and self-sacrificing as one's belonging to his own collectivity know as the nation.

Nationalism - Ireland

On the Irish national struggle, in their centuries-old journey in quest of freedom, I will quote some excerpts from the book IRELAND A Terrible BEAUTY by the famous novelist Leon Uris:

"Here is a last look at a place and a people who will soon lose much of the magic that sets them apart. They embark, somewhat reluctantly, on a confusing journey into the 20th century with the smoke of battle still raging and stinging the nostrils. It is a battle for freedom joined many hundred years before. The full cycle of imperialism is coming to a close after 400 years in the same place it started. Ireland, England's first colony, is destined to be her last". On the Irish famine of the 1840s: "the potato became the staple of the peasant's existence. It was easy to plant and required little attention. From 1845 to 1850 a blight struck the potato crop. Between British ineptness and callous landlordism, a great famine raged out of control. Relief, such as it was, was too late and too little. An estimated million peasants died out of hunger and disease. Another million fled the country in floating coffins, many of them dying at sea. Although these Irish were supposed to be British citizens, the doors of England were shut in their faces, forcing them to America and Canada, where more thousands landed stricken and soon succumbed. From the famine on, Ireland has been compelled to give away her sons and daughters in tragic emigration."

"On the issue of national liberation the (Church) Hierarchy has been consistent in condemnation of the United Irish Uprising of 1798... the Fenian Uprising of the mid-1800s, the Land League struggling for equity for the peasant, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, its successor the Irish Republican Army, and the Easter Uprising of 1916. And finally, on Irish Freedom:

"In the post-famine era the quest for independence was stopped cold in the British Parliament and by armed forces in battle...One Home Rule Bill had been defeated and another vetoed in Lords. The Fenian rebellion of 1867 had been crushed... Embers of Republicanism dimmed to the faintest glow yet in all those little cottages and wretched hovels, smoored and ready to ignite like peat fires...the Gaelic language became the very womb of Republicanism. An arsenal of words was built with the stunning revival of the ancient tongue, so that Irishmen could draw strength, hope and pride from their past... At the beginning of the 20th Century, John Redmond pulled together the remnants of Parnell's Irish Party, but the issue of Irish Home Rule lay in limbo. However, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, direct descendants of the illegal Fenians, were regrouping and arming in secret. The leadership of the clique of Republican intellectuals fell to Arthur Griffith. Disenchanted with Redmond's party and totally disbelieving British Home Rule promises, Griffith formed a new political party, Sinn Fein, in 1906. Sinn Fein, meaning "Ourselves Alone", was at first small and ineffectual...But at least the Republicans now had a political arm to move in concert with the Brotherhood. Sinn Fein was later to become the dominant political force during the insurrection and Griffith the first President of the Irish Free State.

"...Republican yearnings simmered to an inevitable boil, the ranks of republicans now filled with a roll of future immortals. In 1915 the body of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, the unrepentant Fenian, was returned to Ireland for burial after he had undergone the hells of British prisons and exile in America. Padraic Pearse, poet, schoolmaster, and high-ranking member of the Brotherhood, intoned an impassioned eulogy:

".....we pledge to Ireland our love, and we pledge to English rule in Ireland our hate...life springs from death; and from the graves of patriotic men and women spring living nations...The defenders of this Realm...think that they have pacified Ireland...the fools, the fools! They have left us our Fenian dead, and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace".

"The Republicans knew that when the war was done England would turn a massive army on them. With little hope of success, undermanned and underarmed, they knew that time was not good, but the future would be no better.

"The Republicans knew that when the war was done England would turn a massive army on them. With little hope of success, undermanned and underarmed, they knew that time was not good, but the future would be no better.

"On Easter Monday, 1916, a terrible beauty was born.

"The citizen's Army, the Volunteers, and the Brotherhood now united and became the Irish Republican Army with Padraic Pearse named President of the "Provisional Government...They sent for a flag which arrived. The green with the golden harp and the words in Gaelic, The Irish Republic, flew from the pediment and later a second flag, a tricolour of green, white and orange, flew beside it.

"Padraic Pearse went outside and read the proclamation to a mystified crowd:

"IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN: In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom...We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland....."

Nationalism - Soviet Union

In the Soviet Union, after the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks in charge of the government became the de facto bearers of national policy. The national question in the Soviet Union was never satisfactorily addressed or settled. This was due to several reasons, which does not fall within the purview of this essay.

The non-Russian peoples on the periphery of the old Tsarist Empire took a generally sympathetic view toward the Bolshevik government, and Stalin who was in charge of the nationality policy, as Commissar of Nationalities insisted that it was the sympathy of the border republics to the Bolsheviks during the critical days of foreign invasion that made success of the Revolution possible.

Although nationalist agitation was of long duration in certain of the border areas like Finland, Georgia, Armenia, it had hardly developed in the Central Asian peoples. The leaders of the non-Russian groups sought to satisfy the demands of their nationalities through the establishment of cultural and administrative autonomy within the framework of a federal state. In reality, what came to pass in regard to the several nationalities was that they were "settled" by a combination of force and diplomacy.

As finally established, under Stalin's direction, the USSR was made up of 15 Union Republics, which were nominally equal in respect of basic rights. But the constitution gave so much powers to the central (federal) government that the USSR could not have been considered other than a highly centralised state. Each of the 177 nationalities in the USSR were all accorded a type of recognition, even though most of them were wholly within the territory of someone of the Union Republics", 9 "autonomous regions", and 10 national areas that were supposed to form "autonomous units" within the Russian regions or territories.

Stalin, who was responsible for the implementation of the nationalities policy wrote in 1920:

"It is necessary that all Soviet organs in the border regions – the Courts, the administration, the economic bodies, the direct organs of government – as also the organs of the party – should as far as possible be recruited from among the local people acquainted with the customs, life habits, and language of the native population...that the local toiling masses should be drawn into every sphere of administration of the country, including military formations, in order that the masses may see that the Soviet government and its organs are the product of their own efforts, the embodiment of their aspirations".

But what happened from then on under the whip of the Commissar Stalin and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) was the stifling and suppression of the minor nationalities by a colossal, centralised totalitarian state under the hegemonist Russian Republic. The declared policy of staffing government offices, economic bodies, etc. were all soon abandoned and the local people's acceptance of the Russian hegemony was substituted. A whole stratum of minor bureaucracy which had a stake in the Communist system and not likely to be sympathetic to local aspirations was built and put in place.

The Communist Party policy toward the non-Russian nationalities over the years ranged from full-scale conquest of the Central Asian Muslim Republics which enjoyed de facto independence in 1920 to denationalisation of the autonomous territories and absorption into the highly centralised state of several linguistic and cultural groups of people. Armenia, which emerged as a show-piece Soviet Republic, developed strong anti-Soviet nationalism in the 1960s. This led to opposition to socialism, resentment at Russian domination and Armenian demand for secession from the Soviet Union.

Thus, in 1991, the Soviet Union broke apart after 74 years of its founding (without any major bloodshed or civil war) because of the totalitarian dictatorship established by the Communist Party and its bungling minions who took over the Communist Party's leadership from Stalin to Gorbachev. Festering nationalism brought to fore demands for independent republics, free market economy and multi-party system. These high expectations could not be contained by the unimaginative and half-hearted perestroika (restructuring) of Mikhail Gorbachev. But the important question to answer is how far have these expectations of the ordinary folk been realised? Nothing has really changed. Of the 15 Newly Independent States (the 15 former Republics), 5 are ruled by the old communists of Gorbachev's Politburo and six more by other old communists. The grand market economy has not come to pass. Apparatchiks still grip the levers of power. The KGB has only given up its name but not any of its powers. So the big question? What has the break-up on the alter of nationalism achieved in the old USSR? Perhaps the Soviet millions have rediscovered their national identities, heritage, history and religions.

The national flags, unseen before, hoisted by the several Soviet oppressed and suppressed nationalities, in proud vindication of their demands for self-determination continue to fly.

To be continued in next issue.

Uncle Nadodi's Column

WHAT SINHALA JOURNALISTS SAID ABOUT JAFFNA

Three Sinhalese journalists from the Sinhala daily - the LANKADIPA - went on a reporting mission to Jaffna during the third week of October this year. The LTTE acceded to their request and sent an invitation and a "visa". Here are some revealing excerpts from their initial report, published in the SUNDAY TIMES, Colombo, of October 31.

Do these reports show that the Liberation Tigers are "terrorists" as the Sri Lanka government wants the world to believe? Do "terrorists" have so much concern for the war-ravaged children that while defending their land and soil, they yet find the time and resources in an economically strangulated peninsula, to set up amusement parks for the children? Despite being bombed and shelled by a Sinhala racist Government, how come that the Sinhala journalists say that the people they met were friendly and helpful?

Here are the excerpts:-

"Despite major problems and dire warnings, we visited Jaffna last week to renew ties with our brothers and sisters who have been living in isolation since the war intensified. Links between the north and the south had almost totally broken down after the Eelam War 11 which began in July 1990. We were the first Sinhala journalists from a national daily to visit Jaffna after July 1990 and our four-day experience in Jaffna town, in LTTE camps, in the villages and on the northern beaches gave us a deeper understanding and awareness of realities. Our mission to Jaffna was made possible through the intervention of Jaffna's Government Agent K Manikavasagar who made arrangements with the LTTE for the tour. Our letter addressed to LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran, was sent to him by the G A. The reply inviting us to visit Jaffna was signed on behalf of LTTE's political wing leader Thamil Selvan."

"Along with some 14 others, we disembarked at the KKS naval base, where we saw the ship Merks Wadduwa, that had come from Colombo with food under ICRC protection. We boarded the Merks Wadduwa and began our journey to Point Pedro. With us, the other 14 people too got on board. Among them were a University Student going to Jaffna to get married, a music teacher carrying a violin and three foreigners. In one and a half hours time, we would set foot on Jaffna where few, if any, Sinhala people were left. As we neared, we wondered what fate awaited us. The gunfire of "Operation Yaldevi" was still echoing. To reassure ourselves, we rechecked on whether we were carrying the all-important letter of authority from the LTTE."

"As we approached Point Pedro, we saw a white pillar. It was an old lighthouse ravaged by the war. It once guided seafarers. Today it is a relic of the war.....Despite the ICRC flag and all the other reassurances, we felt like strangers. We realised how badly the bonds had been broken "They are journalists from Colombo, the University student told a person at the jetty. He approached us with the traditional Tamil greeting; "Wanakkam Aiya, welcome, welcome." He explained our credentials to the others there, but the only words we understood were "paper reporters" and Landadeepa." They helped us to get into another ICRC boat along with the food items. The warm welcome lifted our spirits and allayed our fears."

"When we reached Point Pedro, jetty and stepped onto Jaffna soil, we were greeted by representatives of the GA and the LTTE. Through lorries and carts loading food, we were guided to the LTTE office. "Your identity cards", asked an unarmed civilian at the office with a peculiar Jaffna accent. We produced the letter of authority from the LTTE and were told no other passes would be required. We had to register our names and we could not help but feel like "foreigners". There was an old Toyota van waiting to take us from there to Jaffna town, a 22-mile journey. Nobody checked our bags. The people we met or saw were friendly and the journey was pleasant."

"Most of the city was in ruins. Buildings and houses had collapsed and people were living or working in makeshift huts. Only the name boards of shops remain. The effects of the war were clearly seen on the faces of the people.....Midway we saw a children's park built by the LTTE. But it carried tragic symbolisms. The handlebar of the children's see-saw was an old T-56 rifle. They play in a bunker. They play hide and seek in tunnels and trenches built for war. A Tiger statue watches them. Though it is surrounded by a flower garden, this park for children under 10 years of age was a start reminder of the social repercussions of the war. On the walls of the park were portraits of dead LTTE men. The children of war were being trained to live in a war-like situation, we were told."

"The villages we passed were deserted. They were like graveyards, with one or two haunted human beings emerging from here and there. As we proceeded, the driver told us to look ahead and see the radio tower of Palali camp. We asked whether we were near the army camp and driver Subramaniam reassured us in broken Sinhala that we need not be afraid of the soldiers. We approached an area which we were told was very dangerous. On this death road, shells were fired around us several times. We were gripped with fear and wondered whether the army had sensed an LTTE van was passing and had decided to open fire. It was only the skill of our driver Subramaniam that brought us alive through that shower of shells to write this story for the SUNDAY TIMES today."

HOUNDING OUT ARMY DESERTERS

So far 2923 soldiers and 18 officers have been apprehended and handed over to their respective regiments. It is understood that the Commanding Officers of these regiments have still not decided about their future.

ARMY IN SEARCH OF CADJANS

The Sri Lankan Army, even before it faced its recent military disasters, was in search of something else - Cadjans! Army Commander Lt Gen Cecil Waidyaratne has gone on record that the armed forces in the North needed 400,000 cadjans to shelter their bunkers during the present rainy season. Each cadjan would cost RS 6/- it seems, and apparently the Wijetunga government is not in a position to supply them or find them. Will the aid-giving countries be in a position to help?

CHOLERA EPIDEMIC IN JAFFNA

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has stated that over 400 cases of cholera have been reported in Jaffna up to October-end, resulting in over a dozen deaths. The patients were being segregated and warded separately at the General Hospital, Jaffna, and other medical centres. It is believed that some refugees forcibly sent from refugee camps in India were carriers of the disease.

FINANCIAL CRUNCH AT UNIVERSITY

The Jaffna University is facing a financial crunch with the Treasury failing to honour this year's outlay. Out of the Rs 115 million that was required to meet expenses, only Rs 79 million was allocated, and even from the allocation, only Rs 74 million have been paid.

MUSLIMS, HILL COUNTRY TAMILS ALSO AFFECTED

In the reign of terror in Colombo where hundreds of Tamils were picked up on the roads in late October, and subjected to prolonged detention and cruelty, the victims included several Muslims coming from the Eastern Province and hill country Tamils.

TAMIL TEACHERS SEND PROTEST

In a letter addressed to President Wijetunga, the General Secretary of the Tamil Teacher's Association, Mr T Mahasivam has said that there was no likelihood of the Government achieving anything through military means. Instead, he must work towards a political solution, he has stated. Condemning indiscriminate bombing of schools, places of worship and market places in Jaffna, Mr Mahasivam pointed out how Drieberg College, Chavakachcheri, was subjected to a bomb attack while the school was in session and how several were killed in the process. Mr Mahasivam has also expressed distress that is was only after Mr Wijetunga assumed power that such attacks on civilian targets had increased.

POLICE DETAIN RELIGIOUS HEAD

The religious head of the Nallur Atheeman, Jaffna, Srila Sri Gnanasambanda Parmachariya Swamigal who had gone from Colombo to the Negombo Pillaiyar Temple, was detained by Police at Seeduwa on the 22nd October and subjected to indignity. The Young Men's Hindu Association, Colombo, has lodged a protest with President Wijetunga over the incident.

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'LAW ASIA' CAME TO THE LAND OF JUNGLE LAW WHAT CAN ADVISORY OPINION DO?

asks Sanmugam T Singham

The Bard, we are told, hath said -
"Opinion is the sovereign mistress of effects". What Shakespeare envisaged almost four centuries ago - with the advances in social institutions and science and with the cumulative effects of the so-called advance in civilisation since then, we stand poised to ponder 'what effects do opinion carry?'
Is it not the dollar/sovereign power and the resultant gun-power that effects its own opinion today?
With opinion rendered effete; the legislature and legitimacy stranded and sidelined; the role of the judiciary usurped; the one-man 'show biz' exhibition of democracy and human rights by J R Jayawardene, the 'super power' (first) executive president, who castrated the virility out of justice and law in Sri Lanka still having a say and sway, epitomises what Lord Acton had to say 'Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely'. It was the absolute power allowed to be acquired by J R Jayewardene which he craftily manipulated to further his egocentric designs that has made this Island a 'Land of Jungle Law' - the survival of the fittest.
With this back-drop scenario a ground reality that impedes law and justice among the cluster of organisations which give only opinions, with less or no effect at all - Law Asia stands out a pathetic perfunctory association.

EFFECTIVE INSTITUTION NECESSARY

It is not my intention here to cast gloom over the functions of Law Asia. But the critique here is that, as a layman, more precisely a victim and witness of gross violations of human rights, my perspective is that Law Asia should fit in and function as an effective institution within the context of the New World Order to assume the vital role of dispensing judgements - (an ultimate regional appeal court) within the region, instead of being an 'indefinite fixed deposit opinion Bank.'
Nevertheless, there should not be any cause for alarm or to appall about. You are in Sri Lanka! Take heart. The way UNO is subject to ridicule and the Red Cross (ICRC) is not spared of vile contempt and suspicion by Sri Lanka should enlighten anyone.

Law Asia and PTA

The Emergency Regulations have been operative in Sri Lanka for sixteen years from 1977, i.e. ever since the present UNP Government came to power. Again, the Prevention of Terrorism Act, termed 'Temporary measure' passed by the Jayawardene regime in 1979, has been in force for fourteen years. It is very apt to remind Law Asia, what it had to say about the above Law in 1982.

Democracy in Peril

A Report by Patricia Hyndman, Secretary, Law Asia Committee, Senior Lecturer in Law, News South Wales, Sydney, Australia, harshly criticised, the Prevention of Terrorism Act.
If Democracy was in peril and the country in crisis in 1982, as observed by Law Asia, eleven years ago, and the premise then, was that 'the legislation (PTA) has been used most exclusively against the Tamils' the very next year in July 1983, this Island was the place where the worst carnage against the Tamils took place. The state pogrom did arouse much indignation among the civilised people around the world.

UNP - SLFP Political Culture

All along, the UNP & SLFP have been guilty of the political culture of breeding racial fanaticism. But this man, J R Jayewardene covertly and overtly, had cultivated intensively and extensively to the extent that the overgrowth of racialism had shadowed and stunted democratic institutions within the island. This is the man who has led the island to the ethnic abyss - and impasse. When UN intervention was counselled by Nobel Laureates for a resolution of the ethnic conflict, President D B Wijetunge wrote back saying that the problem was an internal affair and that the Parliamentary Select Committee was at it to evolve ways and means. But the PSC even after two years of it being constituted, is itself lacking means.

State Terrorism A Presidential Edict

When a President of a nation stoops down to pay fines out of state funds imposed by a Court of Law on the law-enforcement officer, a Superintendent (P Udugampola) for violation of human rights and again to have the officer promoted, is the despicable 'achievement' of J R Jayewardene. And the 'crime' came from nowhere else but the Buddhist clergy. 20,000 pamphlets of Voice of Clergy' opposing the referendum to extend the life of Parliament (another violation of law-human rights - whereby 1.5 million new voters, as at 1982 were denied the right to elect their representatives), were seized by P Udugampola. On a petition by the Secretary to the Organisation to the Supreme Court under Article 126 (Infringement of human rights), the Court upheld and imposed a fine of RS 10,000/- with costs on P Udugampoloa. There was a similar case where the victim was Mrs Vivienne Gunawardene, a former M P.
An eminent British jurist, Mr Paul Sieghart approached President J R for clarification and this was his reply in the words of Mr Sieghart - "The President conceded that he had personally ordered the promotion of the two police officers and the payment out of public funds for damages and costs. This, he said, had been necessary to maintain police morale."
That is not all. With the police 'morale booster' the President went on to bust the morale of the Judiciary. The Houses of the Supreme Court judges were besieged, missiles were pelted and when the judges tried to phone the police for help, the telephone lines were found to be cut. Again when Mr Paul Sieghart inquired from J R Jayawardene about the incident, here is the reply - "the right to peaceful protest was always available to the people of Sri Lanka."
If this was 'peaceful protest' Law Asia can envisage the effects of the PTA over the Tamil people for the last one and a half decades.
The predicament here is that when 'opinion' remains mute and advice to perpetrators of state terrorism becomes cheap and meaningless, are the Tamils to accept the never - ending trauma of gross violation of basic human rights by the State as a normal way of existence - An act of predestiny in a land where terrorism is a Presidential Edict?

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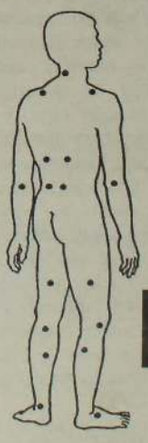

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THE INDIAN SUB CONTINENT

'THE DMK HAS TRIED TO CRUCIFY ME WITHOUT A FAIR TRIAL'

V Gopalasamy

"What a great leader ... What a mighty fall," V. Gopalasamy

In a party that revolves entirely around the persona of its leader Muthuvel Karunanidhi, the emergence, as the eighties drew to a close, of Vai Gopalaswamy as a leading light in the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam hierarchy took pundits by surprise. All was sweetness and light between the supreme leader and the emerging young Turk (Gopalaswamy, in fact, was preferred to more senior DMK leaders for a Rajya Sabha berth) till Karunanidhi began projecting, both covertly and overtly, the claims of his sons to the DMK throne.

The honeymoon ended when Karunanidhi's son Stalin found his nominees defeated by Gopalaswamy's men in the organisational elections to the youth wing of DMK last year. Gopalaswamy had arrived as a threat. The die was cast when Karunanidhi fished out a letter from the state government earlier this month. The letter spoke of 'unconfirmed information' regarding an alleged LTTE plot to kill the DMK leader to promote the MP who had sneaked into Tiger territory at the height of the Sri Lankan crisis and gained the sobriquet of being the 'Prabhakaran of Tamil Nadu.' Twenty-one of 30 DMK district secretaries have since demanded that Gopalaswamy be given the sack, for doing the unthinkable - harbouring ambitions. A fiery orator, Gopalaswamy has refused to throw in the towel at the risk of his position in the party. He told Krishna Prasad why. Excerpts:

Do you think you will be expelled from the DMK?

The whole episode is nothing but a deliberate conspiracy to eliminate me from the DMK. The high command has decided to run the party without me.. it has taken all the steps to throw me out. But its efforts have boomeranged because the DMK rank-and-file has opposed this treacherous move tooth and nail. The high command is now adopting deceptive tactics to get rid of me.

Who is behind all this?

A section of the Congress has connived with vested interests in the DMK and (Janata Party leader) Subramanian Swam

(Continued on page 13)

IT WAS SIVANAYAGAM THEN, NOW IT IS SIVALINGAM!

Not only TAMIL NATION readers, but Tamils all over the world know what happened to TAMIL NATION founder-Editor Sivanayagam in Tamil Nadu, India, two years ago. History has repeated itself, and this time the victim of Indian oppression is R R Sivalingam. The following is a report by Indian Express journalist Mukund Padmanabhan:

SRI LANKAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST DETAINED, HUMILIATED IN TN

In a bizarre and Kafkaesque case, a prominent Sri Lankan civil rights activist working in Tamil Nadu has been detained and humiliated by the state government. Sixty one-year old R R Sivalingam - who has served cariously as principal, director of education and Supreme Court lawyer in Sri Lanka - has been working in Tamil Nadu's Nilgiri Hills since 1985 for the cause of Tamil repatriates from the island.

In a baffling decision, Sivalingam was detained by the Tamil Nadu government on August 5 this year under the Foreigners Act (1946), intended to "regulate the continued presence of foreigners". He was put in a cell in the Special Camp at Chengalpattu, meant for Sri Lankan nationals who have violated the law. Worse, when he was brought on September 18 to the Government General Hospital in Madras to be treated for a bad heart, he was chained to his hospital bed in a squalid general ward for a whole week.

The most mysterious aspect of the Sivalingam affair is that he has been proceeded against under an Act which is used only for law breakers and those regarded as security risks. He cannot be even remotely connected to the Sri Lankan militant movement; sources in 'Q' branch (the state police department that deals with Sri Lankan matters) admit that "it had nothing on Sivalingam with respect to any case". (Moreover, although he holds a Sri Lankan passport, Sivalingam was born in this country to Indian parents. His wife is Indian too.)

Since he arrived in India in 1983, Sivalingam's residence permit has been routinely extended every year until December 1992. However, his application to stay on in 1993 has been kept pending.

Those who know him believe that this may have been intentionally done to harass him by those who are opposed to his work as a civil rights activist. (His application for Indian citizenship, which has been vouched for by former Union minister C Subramanaiam, is also pending.)

Although the Sivalingam affair has received little media attention, it has evoked protests from many influential people who know him. Recently, Sri Lankan Minister of Tourism and Rural Industrial Development S Thondaman wrote to Prime Minister P V Narasimha Rao and Union Home Minister S B Chavan expressing concern about what had happened. Former Supreme Court judge V R Krishna Iyer has also represented Sivalingam's case to Chavan, who replied on September 18 saying he is "having the matter looked into". Grassroots organisations from places as far flung as Australia and Sweden have also expressed support.

Civil rights activists are amazed that the Foreigners Act, a pieces of pre-Independence legislation which confers sweeping powers on the administration could have been used against Sivalingam. Says lawyer P V S Giridhar: "The Act was intended for alien enemies and wartime situations and not for a case like this."

Although guarded by a bunch of watchful policemen from the local and 'Q' branches. Indian Express interviewed the civil rights activist at the city's General Hospital, where he is currently recuperating. "I had never expected to be detained and chained like a common criminal," he says.

Sivanayagam being taken to court in 1992

Sivalingam believes his detention was the work of vested interests and the district level bureaucracy. In the Nilgiris, a great deal of tension exists between Indian Tamil repatriates from Sri Lanka, who are mainly Dalits, and economically more powerful 'native' communities over both jobs and land. Says Sivalingam, who now faces the threat of deportation: "I had decided to dedicate my life for the upliftment of Tamil repatriates. I have little left in Sri Lanka to go back to."

A Bhaskaradoss, secretary of the state Public Department, which served the detention order on Sivalingam, could not say who had recommended his detention. But state government sources claim that the detentions under the Foreigners Act are usually carried out on the recommendation of the district administration - generally, the superintendent of police or the collector. A habeas corpus petition challenging Sivalingam's detention was admitted by the Madras High Court in late August. But as the government has still to file its counter-affidavit (which may clear up the mystery of why it acted against him), the petition has not yet come up for hearing. Among other things, the petition has challenged his "illegal" detention on the grounds that it was served under Section 3 (2) (e) of the Foreigners Act, which only requires that a foreigner stay in a "particular place" and not Section 3 (2) (g), which provides for confinement. As for the chains that bound Sivalingam to his hospital bed, they were removed only after a miscellaneous petition was filed seeking compensation for this action.

'THE DMK HAS TRIED TO CRUCIFY ME WITHOUT A FAIR TRIAL'

(Continued from page 12)

to produce the alleged Intelligence Bureau letter. Dr Kalignar (literary luminary, Karunanidhi's title) wants to expel me. That is why he has substantiated the letter by telling untruths. He did not even consult me nor seek my clarification before making it public.

Was Karunanidhi's announcement to retire from politics, a drama to exert pressure on you?

No comments.

It is said the letter was a bid to stymie your chances as Karunanidhi's successor?

They (Karunanidhi's sons M K Stalin and Azhagiri, and nephew Murasoli Maran) are responsible for all the developments. I'll substantiate my charge at the right time at the proper forum.

Is Karunanidhi dictatorial and dynastic by nature?

Under his leadership, we fought (Indira Gandhi's) dictatorship during the Emergency. We even criticised the dynastic rule of the Congress. The painful paradox now is that he (Karunanidhi) himself has permitted such trends in his own party, in the DMK.

Are you now embarrassed about your links with the LTTE?

I do not have links with the LTTE. I'm a strong supporter of the cause of Tamil Eelam. Just like people all over the country supported the cause of the African National Congress I support the cause of Eelam.

But you did meet LTTE chief Prabhakaran once against the party line.

There was no party whip. Nobody anticipated that somebody would actually go across at the height of the LTTE-IPKF crisis. I undertook my visit without informing Dr Kalaignar. But on returning home, I expressed my regret, and he pardoned me.

Do you think LTTE masterminded Rajiv Gandhi's assassination?

Isn't it ironical that a party whose government was dismissed two years ago for being sympathetic to the Tamil Tigers is now facing a split because of them?

The DMK has never supported any particular militant organisation. But the party has been a supporter of the cause of Tamil Eelam. At the Pudukottai session of the party general council in 1984, a resolution was passed that Tamil Eelam was the only solution to the problem of Tamils in Sri Lanka. The DMK has also organised a conference on the same issue.

You were once Karunanidhi's blue-eyed boy. What ever happened?

All these years, I've been a loyal lieutenant of Dr Kalaignar. In recent years, however, I had found him to be harbouring bitterness towards me. Despite it, I never wavered in my devoted affection and sincere loyalty to him.

Is it true that you don't meet the high command even when in Madras?

Whenever I'm in Madras, the first duty I do is meet the high command. After the Ranipet by-poll, due to illness, I was undergoing treatment in a hospital. So I couldn't meet him. But I never imagined that Dr Kalaignar would make it an issue to question my loyalty to him. Such statements add more insults to the injuries that has already been caused to me.

But you have also been accused of being responsible for the defeat of the party candidates in the Ranipet and Palani by-elections.

I was totally ignored and insulted during the election campaign. The high command did not like at all my participation in the campaigning for the party candidates. The high command also made it clear that I need not be consulted on the choice of the candidates. How can I then be held responsible for the verdict at the poll?

Why were you ignored?

I don't know ... I feel that they wanted to frame charges against me and use them at the right moment as they have done now.

Why have you rejected compromise?

What is the need for compromise? It is for the party general council to decide who is guilty and who is not. All are equal before law. The same yard stick has to be applied to both leader and worker. That is not being done.

Why is Karunanidhi refusing to call a meeting of the general council?

Dr Kalaignar is a courageous man, but he knows that the injustice that has been done to me will be exposed in the general council. That is why he is afraid of calling a meeting of the council.

Karunanidhi says, 'Even Jesus is calm when being beaten while being taken to the cross.'

My question is, who has been put on the cross? I or he? The DMK high command has tried to crucify me without justice in a fair trial. I don't want to rake up the name of Jesus who is worshipped by scores of people. I'm just an ordinary mortal. But what suffering Jesus underwent, I'm undergoing now.

Do you still consider Karunanidhi as your 'only leader' after all this?

Until October 7, yes, I used to hail him as my only leader. After October 7, he has tried to brand me as a traitor. What status do I now have to work under him? But I won't accept anybody else as my leader, and I'm ready to sacrifice my life for him if his life is in danger.

Does that mean you will float your own party?

No. I'm still a DMK member. The high command has no authority to expel me. It has lost all its authority to expel me. Everything has to be now decided by the party general council.

Is the DMK now moving closer to the Congress?

The DMK has stomached the earlier atrocious statements of Subramanian Swami who is now working hand-in-glove with Maran. Maran has tried to forge an alliance with the Congress. Swami will double-cross anybody at any time.

Do you fear a threat to your life?

No, I don't fear for my life. I've never been bothered about such things.

Courtesy The Sunday Observer, India
October 24 - 30, 1993

LETTER FROM NORTH AMERICA

by Onlooker

Mr Hameed, Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka attended the recent sessions of the UN General Assembly. During his stay in New York an NGO interested in peace in Sri Lanka arranged for him to meet some Sri Lankan expatriates, both Sinhalese and Tamils.

During the meeting the Minister mentioned that he had a similar meeting with expatriates in London on his way to New York and would be again meeting them and expatriates in Paris on the return trip. He painted the position the government has taken in a favourable light and blamed the Tamils for the present impasse. The government, he said, was still interested in a political solution. He could not satisfactorily answer some questions posed by Tamil participants.

Prime Minister Ranil Wickramasinghe was in Washington recently and told a meeting of business representatives and government officials that Sri Lanka looked forward to active American leadership. The Prime Minister later held a half-hour meeting with US Secretary of State Warren Christopher. Before the meeting the Secretary told a reporter that the human rights situation was "improving, but leaves still some room for improvement," as US embassy communique said. According to Island International when the Prime Minister was asked if Sri Lanka would establish a "truth commission" to investigate government actions against separatist groups, he replied that his country was "already open to international organisations." He also said that in a free society like Sri Lanka such problems and concerns are discussed daily in Parliament.

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SCENES FROM TAMIL CLASSICS

There was a time when some of the stories we gleaned from the heroic poems of the Tamil classical period were hard to believe though our mentors unsuccessfully tried to convince us that the stories portrayed by those poems were in essence true and not mere poetic imaginations or exaggerations. During the fifties, our Sinhalese brethren, blissfully forgetting that the Sri Lankan Tamils have an equal right to the country and it's resources, rode roughshod on the meek and gullible Tamils of Sri Lanka. I had occasions to recall and ruminate on the classical period of the Cheras, Cholos and Pandiyas revealed through Tamil classical literature popularly referred to as Sangam literature.

Though received wisdom has it that history does not repeat itself, I have nevertheless yearned that part at least of that ancient Tamil history should repeat and be re-enacted in the Tamil soil of Sri Lanka. But at that time, the traditionally soft and humble Tamils could not all of a sudden shake off their innate, inherited and ingrained gentleness and softness, nourished and cultivated over centuries of cultured life to become brutal and ruthless which the Sinhala tyranny and oppression demanded. However, the intransigence, the fanaticism and the recurring duplicity of the chauvinistic Sinhala government compelled the Tamils to become what they never wanted to become, and today in the nineties, we find the dramas and episodes painted vividly in the Puranaanooru poems being re-lived and re-enacted in the soil of Tamil Eelam.

The inimitable courage and bravery displayed and demonstrated by the indomitable youths and infants during the much vaunted but most shameful operation Yarldevi by the Sri Lankan armed forces took me back to the pre-christian era and revived the memory of a young warrior. The story of that warrior has been encapsulated in a poem attributed to a poet called Ponmudiyaar. It is the story of a young lad who still had only the rudiments of a beard, a boy in his early teens. The poet, who had known the boy from his childhood and had the chance of witnessing his prowess and performance on the battlefield, has picturesquely painted the metamorphosis of the young lad into a committed boyish warrior.

Here is the translation of that poem:

"O, Heart
Sorrowing for this lad
once scared of a stick
lifted in mock anger
when he refused
a drink of milk - now
not content with killing
war elephants with spotted trunks
this son
of the strong man who fell yesterday
seems unaware of the arrow in his wound
his head of hair is plumed
like a horse's
he has fallen on his shield
his beard is still soft"

It is reported in the Sri Lankan Press that hundreds of Tamil teenagers have lost their lives during the operation Yarldevi launched by the Sri Lankan armed forces. It is sad that the Tamil youths, who are capable of achieving still greater things, should be forced by the heartless Sinhalese government to lay down their lives like this. But then how else can the Tamils redeem their honour and self respect? There were Ponmudiyaar-like poets to sing the praise of those youths who gave their lives for the sake of their land and liberty. Who is there now in Tamil Eelam, (except Puthuvai Ratnathurai) to eulogise the greatness and sacrifice of the Tamil youths who became martyrs during operation Yarldevi? They gave their lives so that other suffering Tamils could live in peace and dignity in the years to come.

Let us in London sing their praise through this column in prose form.

S Sriskandarajah
24.11.93

In aid of Jaffna hospital Fund

Mrs Indhumathi Srikumar gave a Bharathanatyam performance at the "Bhawan", West Kensington on 17th October

INAUGURATION OF SANGEETHA NATYA SANGAM (UK)

The Sangam was inaugurated on Sunday 14th 1993 at 6.30 pm at Claremont School Hall, Kenton. The programme commenced with the lighting of the oil-lamp by Mrs Sivasakthi Sivanesan. Mr S Kanagasabai, the President of the Sangam in welcoming the large gathering present said, "The long-lasting ethnic conflict in our country has driven a large number of people from their motherland to seek refuge in foreign lands leaving all their possessions behind. They have done this to escape the travails and privations of life there- This of necessity, has forged a community, strong, resilient, proud and determined to preserve their language and culture and thus safeguard their identity. To do this we have organised week-end community schools in most of the Boroughs in London. In this respect, we are proud of our parents and their children for taking a keen interest to promote and preserve for posterity our ancient Fine Arts.

A large number of our children, after their "Arangetrams" lack the opportunity to continue performing these fine arts and developing them to reach perfection. This has been a long felt need and some sincere art loving members of the community have got together to give birth to the Sangeetha Natya Sangam. This Sangam is neither political nor profit-making. The seven styles of Bharathanatyam are being presented by eight young talented artistes this evening, followed by Srimathi Kalpana Sreenivas, the famous Kuchipudi dancer from India and Shri Dayalan of Madras fame.

The Honourable Mr Hugh Dykes MP for Harrow, who was the Chief Guest of the evening praised the good work done by the community and has pledged to support the Sangam. Mrs Sivasakthi Sivasesan made a presentation to the young artistes. Dr K Nagarajah proposed a vote of Thanks.

Mr Hugh Dykes M.P.

WORLD SAIVA COUNCIL

(London (UK) Headquarters

W S Council's main aim is to promote Bhakti, through singing and hearing hymns in our sweet mother tongue, Tamil during Temple poojahs).

1. Our Sacred Twelve Saiva Thirumurai Hymns can be directly used during Temple Poojahs and selected ones could be used as necessary, as these hymns are meant for use in prayer.
2. Devotees doing Archanas in Temples must please request specifically from the priest that the Archana hymns be performed in Tamil. We appeal to Temple Trustees and Administrators to help and Co-operate in this.
3. We humbly appeal to Saiva Tamil philanthropists to help produce first-rate Thirumurai Cassettes and CD's etc. using eminent musicians so that Savism can succeed through the agency of the sweetest Tamil religious melodies moving the Bhakta's hearts.
4. If deemed necessary and useful it is Vital that we translate suitable religious hymns and songs from other languages into Tamil; give these Scientific up-to-date musical modes and tunes and produce Music Cassettes & CD's etc. with a view to attracting our young Saivites growing in foreign Countries, away from South Indian Culture.
5. It is our fervent hope that this Archanas in Tamil movement will get a momentum through Saiva - Tamil music first in the Temples and subsequently in all public meeting places where it could captivate the hearts of all.
6. It is vital that in all new appointment of Temple Priests the Trustees and Administrators would ensure that the Priests are not only proficient in Saiva Thirumurai but also ready and willing to do archanas in Tamil - we appeal to all Saiva Temple administrators throughout the world to enforce this kind request.
7. Finally, we appeal to world-wide Temple Trustees. Holy saiva mutt Heads.

Business Magnates and Saiva Tamil devotees to extend their whole hearted support and donations for this World Saiva Council's first major SAIVA - TAMIL SACRED DIVINE SERVICE.

Saraswathy Pooja Celebrations in Canada

Students of Brinda (Mrs.Thulasi Ragunathan) participating in a group violin recital.

PEOPLE and EVENTS

OBITUARIES

Dr Ramanathan SRI PATHMANATHAN,

FDSRCE (Eng), DLO, LRCP & MRCS (Eng)

Path as he was popularly known was born in Manipay on 30.07.30. He was the only son of Mr & Mrs K Ramanatha. After early schooling in Jaffna, he proceeded to St Peters College, Bambalapitya when he distringuished himself in Rugger. At the University of Peradeniya where he qualified as a dental surgeon he continued his interest in the game in which he really excelled, eventually being capped for the CR & FC.

In 1959 he married Sheila Perera and they were blessed with four children, Rohendra, Gehan, Chanthal and Asitha. They made a very happy and united family and their home in Highgate opened its doors to a large circle of friends from all communities. Path was a true socialist and worked hard to bring justice and peace to the disfranchised and deprived people of Sri Lanka. He will be remembered for the World in Action documentary "The price of a cup of Tea", on the plight of the Upcountry Tamil population.

He was an outstanding Oral and Facio Maxillary surgeon, working as a consultant in Monkland hospital, Airdrie, Lanarkshire, and Hony. Consultant and Clinical Lecturer, University of Glasgow. He also worked in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia for 5 years in very senior positions.

Despite his year-long illness from cancer, he continued to teach and operate at the Royal Free hospital and Central Middlesex until almost the near end of his life.

He died on Sunday 7th November and was cremated the following Sunday at the Golders Green Crematorium in the presence of a large gathering of friends, relations and medical colleagues.

46 Jacksons Lane, Highgate, London N6 5SX

CJT

Sivapragasam THIRUVILANGAM:
Husband of rajeswary, father of late Bhamathy, Manoharan, (Australia), Aiynkaran, Kalamathy (Kunaplalan, Vidyasalai, Anaikottai).
Cremated 31st Oct.93
"Senthiru", Koolavadi, Anaikottai.

Mrs Thangamma PONNAMBALAM:
Native of Varuthalai Vilan, Tellipalai.
Cremated Jaffna, 18th Oct.

Sanjeev SIVAPALAN:
Son of Dr P Sivapalan (TRI) and Mrs Vamadevi Sivapalan, brother of Deepa Sri Kumar and brother-in-law of Srikumar Sinnarajah (USA) nephew of Mr & Mrs N Gurusamy, Dr S Rasalingam and Dr (Mrs) Maithri Rasalingam (USA) and Dr and Mrs P Logananthan (New Zealand) cremated 25th October
26/6 Pamankade Lane, Colombo 6.

Dorothy FERDINANDS:
nee Vandendriesen died on July 2nd in Melbourne. Her husband Burleigh Ferdinands predeceased her more than a decade ago. She is survived by her daughters Charmains and Margot; one brother Colin (Vancouver) and her two sisters, Evelyn Tiwari (and Lorna) living in Melbourne. The Vanden Driesans were a well-known and highly respected family inJaffna, closely associated with St Johns college and Chundikuli girls college.
13 Moama Road, East Malver, VIC3145

Velupillai Nadarajah SIVARAJAH,

BA (Peradeniya), MPA (Vidyodaya), SLAS passed away in Madras on 28 September at the conclusion of one of his pilgrimage which he undertook off and on. He leaves behind his wife Kohilambal, six brothers and two sisters, one sister predeceased him and scores of friends and relatives to bemourn his untimely death. Mr Sivarajah was a devout Hindu. He lived in God and religion was the mainstay of his life.
GU 1-3 Goonesinghepura, Colombo 12.

Dr Kumarasamy RAJARATNAM,

RMP, Husband of Saraswathy, father of Rajakumar, Mohan, Murugan (USA) and Sri Ranganathan, died on 30th October and was cremated on 4th November at the Lewisham Crematorium.
60 Exeter Road, Welling, Kent DA16 3LA

Mrs Rathinam CHELLIAH,
of "Shanthy", South Chunnakam, wife of Chelliah (Rtd Irrigation Overseer), mother of Karuna, Siva (Chunnakam) Selvi, Karan (Abudhabi) and Radha (Petrolium). Funeral Chunnakam 27th Oct)

Mrs Alagamalar RAJARATNAM:
Wife of Luther Rajaratnam, mother of late Vasantha, Prema (Holy Family Convent, Jaffna), Suren (Maldives), Nirmala (Middleway Ud), Nesaraj (UK) Emerson (Germany), mother-in-law of Indran (Germany), Thanapalan (Principal, St Johns College, Jaffna) Nita, Cosmas (Sean Imports), and Shanthi (UK).
Cremated General Cemetary, Kanatte, Colombo 31st October.

Dr John Mohandas Nallaimuthu KANAGASOORIAM,

MRC Psych, suffered a heart attack and died instantly on 24th October. He leaves behind his wife Pushpa and two children Dr Lakshman Kanagasooriam and Niranjali Muthukumaru.

After his early education at St Johns College and later Jaffna College John passed out as a doctor in 1955. After a short spell in Government service, he went into private practice in Hatton. After 12 years he moved to the UK and obtained the Membership in Psychiatry while working in Kent. Later he moved to work as a General Practitioner in Canterbury.
164 Twyford Road, West Harrow, Middlesex.

Mr R Sothilingam

of the Jaffna University was selected to represent the Universities of Sri Lanka at the World University Meet at Buffalo, USA this summer. He is an old boy of Jaffna College. Earlier he was picked to represent Sri Lanka in the 4 into 100 metre relay team at the Second Asian Junior Athletic Meet in Singapore. Sothilingam holds 2 Gold Medals in the Sri Lankan Universities Meet held in Colombo.

Thiru Muruga Kirupananda Varyar (64th Nayanar)

Born: 25.08.06 Died: 07.11.93

Dr Thayalan Ambalavanar,

who worked in Manipay hospital three years ago before coming to England, has obtained the Fellowship of the Royal College of Surgeons (Edinburgh). He is the son of Rt Rev D J Ambalavanar, retd Bishop of the Jaffna Diocese of the Church of South India and of Dr (Mrs Chandra Ambalavanar, Medical Superintendent of Manipay hospital. It is his intention to return there in view of the acute shortage of surgeons in the peninsula.

Mr Sivasamboe Thanapalan

was installed as the Principal of St John's College, Jaffna; in succession to Dr E S Thevasagayam. Mr Thanapalan was earlier Vice-Principal and acting Principal of the college.

MY DREAM 2000

I dream
That on 1 January 2000
The whole world will stand still
In prayer, awe and gratitude
For our beautiful, heavenly Earth
And for the miracle of human life.
I dream
That young and old, rich and poor,
Black and white
Peoples from North and South
From East and West
From all beliefs and cultures
Will join their hands, minds and hearts
In an unprecedented, universal
Bimillennium Celebration of Life.
I dream
That the year 2000
Will be declared World Year of Thanksgiving
by the United Nations.
I dream
That during the year 2000
Innumerable celebrations and events
Will take place all over the globe
To gauge the long road covered by humanity
To study our mistakes
And to plan the feats
Still to be accomplished
For the full flowering of the human race
In peace, justice and happiness.
I dream
That the few remaining years
To the Bimillennium
Be devoted by all humans, nations and institutions
To unparalleled thinking, action,
Inspiration, elevation,
Determination and love
To solve our remaining problems
And to achieve
A peaceful, united human family on Earth.
I dream
That the third millennium
Will be declared and made
Humanity's First Millennium of Peace.

by Robert Muller
(Chancellor of the United Nations University for Peace)

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UN RELIEF OFFICIALS WARN OF MAJOR REFUGEE CRISIS

"Asylum for those forced to flee must be preserved."

Some 44 million people, one in every 130 of the world's population, are refugees or displaced persons forced to flee their homes by conflict or oppression, the United Nations said on Tuesday.

In its first detailed report on the problem, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said the world faced a relentlessly mounting refugee crisis amid a spiral of civil wars that have followed the collapse of Communism.

The Geneva-based UNHCR, founded in 1951 as a temporary body to help people displaced by World War Two and the Cold War, said frightened governments were closing frontiers, pushing the present system of protecting refugees to breaking point.

The massive number of people on the move has weakened international solidarity and endangered the time-honoured tradition of granting asylum to those in genuine need of protection, said the commissioner, Sadako Ogata of Japan.

According to the report, "The state of the world's refugees - the challenges of protection", the number of people around the world who had fled across borders had risen from 2.5 million in 1970 to 11 million in 1983 and to 18.2 million this year.

UNHCE spokeswoman Sylvana Foa told a news conference that since the report had been completed a few months ago the total had climbed to 18.9 million in October. It now stood at 19.7 million following a coup attempt in Burundi.

The report said more than 24 million people were living as displaced persons inside their own countries, largely as a result of civil wars that have set different ethnic groups against each other.

During 1992, an average of 10,000 people became refugees every day, it said.

In a world where persecution, massive human rights violations and armed conflict remain a daily reality, the need to protect refugees is greater than ever before, Ogata wrote in an introduction to the report.

"Asylum for those forced to flee must be preserved."

The report said beleaguered governments in countries traditionally giving asylum to refugees were closing their doors in panic, partly under pressure of rising racist and xenophobic attitudes among their own populations.

It is hard to find a country that has liberalised its asylum policy since the end of the cold war, Foa told the news conference. Today, in many countries it is almost impossible to get asylum when you are fleeing political or racial oppression."

Figures issued with the report showed that Asia with 7.2 million had the largest refugee population, well over half of them Afghans in Pakistan and Iran who fled their country during the civil war and Soviet intervention of the 1980s.

The UNHCR said there were 4.4 million refugees in Europe. It said nearly two thirds of them had fled fighting in the former Yugoslavia and especially the conflict setting Muslims, Serbs and Croats against each other in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In the United States and Canada, there were just over one million equally divided between the two countries. In Latin America there were 885,000. Some 361,000 had sought refuge in Mexico, mainly from neighbouring central American states.

Among developed countries Germany, which is tightening its asylum laws amid a wave of attacks against foreigners, remained the state giving shelter to the most refugees - a total of 827,000 at the end of 1992, according to the report.

In the developing world, Iran was home to 4.1 million refugees - from Afghanistan and Iraq - while Pakistan had 1.6 million and Malawi one million, mainly from Mozambique.

COLOMBO UNSAFE FOR REFUGEE RETURNS SAY EURO MPs

After meeting President Wijetunga, a European Parliament delegation including British Euro MP Anita Pollack told the Colombo press on 6 October that the current situation in Sri Lanka was not conducive for Western governments to return rejected asylum-seekers.

Many European governments have been considering such returns encouraged by a UNHCR statement in June which tacitly endorses an internal flight alternative in Colombo and the south provided the returnees have relatives or previous residence in the area. The Swiss government is negotiating a pioneer programme of organised returns which Sri Lanka is reluctantly examining. Talks are underway with Colombo NGOs to run camps for the returnees. Tamil refugee camps in the capital are quietly being cleared to provide facilities. Nearly 400 refugees from the east were evicted from Modera camp on 4 October and returned to Batticaloa. Another 100 refused to return and are living on the street.

Other European countries are testing the ground. Over 150 Tamils launched a hunger strike in Sweden after two Tamils refused asylum were deported on 6 October and detained by police in Negombo on return. A Swedish government delegation was dispatched hurriedly to Colombo to review current policy. A week later, 17 year-old Markandu Jeyarajah was forced on to an aircraft by French police at Roissy airport and returned to Sri Lanka. Refugee workers say Sri Lankan and other asylum-seekers at Roissy are increasingly refused their right to apply for asylum and are quietly deported in a matter of hours - a disturbing trend accelerating across Europe.

Over 200,000 Sri Lankans have applied for asylum in European countries since 1980. Less than 2% receive full refugee status, most acquiring only temporary protection to be rescinded when conditions in Sri Lanka improve.

NGOs reaffirmed their opposition to returning rejected asylum-seekers to Sri Lanka

With 500,000 refugee arrivals in Europe last year, many countries are pushing ahead with a two-track refugee procedure allowing them to screen out applicants from countries with safe areas or "internal flight alternatives" or those who have passed through designated "safe third countries". Rising racism within Europe is making governments nervous. Dharmalingam Rajeswaran from Mandaitivu and his wife and two children were burned alive in a right-wing arson attack in Saarbrucken, Germany in early October.

Ironically, figures for Sri Lankan asylum-seekers this year have dropped by 50% to a projected 12,000, suggest country reports submitted to the biannual general meeting of Europe's refugee councils, the European Consultation on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE) in Geneva in early October. But many countries like Switzerland with growing social problems with refugees have already targeted the Tamils. NGOs reaffirmed their opposition to returning rejected asylum-seekers to Sri Lanka at a special UNHCR meeting in Geneva on 29 September and urged the UN refugee agency to actively monitor those sent back.

Courtesy Sri Lankan Monitor, October 93